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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PROFESSIONAL, ORGANIZATIONAL, PERSONAL: THE EFFECTS OF IDEOLOGY ON JOB SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

by

Fiona Anne Elizabeth McQuarrie ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Organizational Analysis

Faculty of Business

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring, 1995

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Professional, Organizational, Personal: The Effects of Ideology on Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment" submitted by Fiona Anne Elizabeth McQuarrie in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Organizational Analysis.

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March 30, 1995
Date

For Tom

And if my Words were Stars
I'd write you a Skyful

ABSTRACT

While job satisfaction and organizational commitment are widely studied, more work is needed to determine their relationship to workplace factors, including individual ideology. Ideology has been investigated primarily as organizational culture - which reflects mostly managerial ideology. The effect of individual, non-managerial ideology on job satisfaction and organizational commitment has not been explored.

Ideology is a set of beliefs which help individuals explain their world. In professional occupations, ideology is formalized as standards to which individuals must subscribe. The effects of adoption of ideology would be obscured in such an occupation since non-subscribers would be excluded. Semi-professionalized occupations have a professional ideology which workers are not formally required to accept. The degree to which professional ideology is adopted thus might cause variations in job satisfaction or organizational commitment. The employing organization may also encourage or reject the adoption of professional ideology.

This study questioned whether the adoption of professional standards as personal ideology affected job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and if the strength of this effect differed between workers at different types of organizations. These questions were tested on journalists at alternative and mainstream newspapers, since journalism is a semi-professionalized occupation and alternative and mainstream newspapers might be expected to hold different organizational ideologies. 247 journalists - 152 from mainstream newspapers and 95 from alternative newspapers - responded to a mail-out questionnaire recording professional attitudes, levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and demographic information.

Two different definitions of professionalism were used in data analysis: the overall score on a professionalism scale and self-identification as a professional. Multiple regression showed that the professionalism score significantly and negatively related to job satisfaction. Alternative journalists had stronger organizational commitment than mainstream journalists; all other relationships were statistically insignificant.

The effects observed are small but meaningful, since adherence to professional standards results in lower job satisfaction. Organizational commitment may also be affected by commitment to the ideology promoted by the organization. However, these relationships need to be tested on other populations and in other occupations to be further confirmed. Such studies will be in more demand in the future as the labour market changes and attitudes toward work are recognized as important workplace and personal characteristics.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the effects of individual ideology, as represented by the degree of adoption of professional standards, on job satisfaction and organizational commitment. While the variables of ideology, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment have been individually discussed in the organizational behaviour literature, their possible relationship is mostly unexplored. Furthermore, despite the extensive research on these three variables, there is still much to be done in determining their composition and relationship to other workplace factors.

Job satisfaction is the most extensively studied job attitude, the last available count noting over 4000 published studies (O'Connor, Peters and Gordon, 1978). Since then, in the view of some theorists, the field is close to being exhausted: "Studies of job design and work attitudes are largely variations on familiar themes. While much of this work provides useful refinements of measures and tests designed to clarify previous ambiguities, few advances into new theoretical domains are apparent" (O'Reilly, 1991).

This view may be disputed on several counts. Studies of job satisfaction have varied widely in their design, in their means of measurement, and in their choice of subjects. It is difficult to argue that "few advances...are apparent" when much of the existing work is limited in its scope and application simply because of its specificity to particular workplaces or occupations. The broader value of such site-specific research only becomes apparent when differing studies are aggregated and an overall pattern of results is established. The nature of job satisfaction might also be expected to change over time, due to such phenomena as new technology, new forms of work and organization structure, and changing conceptualizations of work. Thus, multiple studies are needed not only to address variations in job satisfaction within and among types of work but to chart temporal changes.

Additionally, because of the multifaceted nature of work attitudes and work sites, there will never be one definitive study that establishes the causes of job satisfaction for every worker and every type of job. It is only by studying small parts of the larger picture that the larger picture gradually becomes apparent. Multiple studies incorporating new perspectives will contribute to a greater overall understanding of the concept of job satisfaction.

Studies of job satisfaction will also become increasingly important for practical reasons. The composition of the Canadian work force is changing, with increasing representation of women, minorities, and older workers (McShane, 1992); companies will thus need to be more concerned with the problems of satisfying the needs of diverse groups of employees. Further insight into the nature and causes of job satisfaction will become important in helping organizations identify factors that affect satisfaction for various kinds of workers in different jobs.

It should be noted, too, that much job satisfaction research in the past has focused on linking job satisfaction and organizational outcomes such as performance (Staw, 1984). It is equally important to understand job satisfaction as a phenomenon in and of itself and as an end in itself. The significant effects of job satisfaction need not be only immediate short-term benefits to the organization, but also the more general societal effects derived from having individuals happy in their work.

Organizational commitment is also a widely studied work attitude, but much of the research in this area has focused on defining commitment and how it differs from other organizational constructs (e.g. Schneider, 1985). There is general recognition of a need to define the causes of commitment and the factors that constitute commitment. New research directions that have been suggested include Mowday, Porter and Steers' (1982) five "agenda items" for research in organizational commitment, including the effects of multiple commitments and the effects of job design and complexity. Additionally, if greater organizational commitment results in positive benefits for the individual and the organization as has been suggested (Romzek, 1989), further research in this area offers the potential of personal, organizational and societal benefits.

Ideology has been studied in organizational behaviour literature primarily as a macro-level concept, usually operationalized as organizational culture. Culture is an expression of ideology because manifestations of culture, such as belief, stories, languages, and ceremonial acts, are used to promote an organization's ideology and thus determine its members' responses to events (Meyer, 1982). However, individual ideology has mainly been addressed as an expression of managerial ideology (Weiss, 1986), while little attention has been paid to individual ideologies of non-managerial staff and the effects of those ideologies.

Research on the effects of non-managerial ideology fits with one identified area of "new" research in micro-organizational behaviour - the potential contribution of sociological approaches, such as investigation of the effects of personal beliefs and political pressure, to organizational behaviour (O'Reilly, 1991). It also may increase understanding of the importance of context to individual and group behaviour, which is another area gaining attention in organizational behaviour research (Capelli, 1990; Mowday and Sutton, 1993).

The subjects for this study are journalists working at alternative and mainstream newspapers in the United States. Because some of these workers are employed in "alternative" organizations - namely, newspapers offering a different perspective on the news than that found in the mass media - it is reasonable to assume that these workers might hold different ideologies than those working in the mainstream press. These differences might appear in alternative press journalists' commitment to the professional standards of journalism, which, while not formally enshrined in any binding document, are taught in journalism schools and are transmitted through organizational standards and interactions with others in the same occupation (Lavine & Wackman, 1988).

Journalists working at alternative newspapers might see themselves as members of the same profession as journalists working at mainstream newspapers, and adhere to and support professional standards, thus subscribing to the ideology represented by those standards. Alternatively, these journalists might reject professional standards as part of the forces which ensure conformity in the media. The employing organization may also promote the adoption or rejection by individuals of particular ideologies. In any of these scenarios, ideology may relate to how satisfied the worker is with his or her job and how committed he or she is to his or her organization.

This study is significant in several respects. Firstly, it hypothesizes a relationship among job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and individual ideology. On a theoretical level, analyzing this relationship may serve to develop further understanding of all three constructs. Secondly, the study focuses on individual rather than managerial or corporate ideology: an aspect of organizational behaviour which has received little attention but may be important in understanding the development of individual attitudes.

Thirdly, the study operationalizes ideology as an existing, established set of beliefs - represented by professional standards - and examines the effect of the adoption of these standards to work attitudes in a semi-professionalized occupation. In such work, presumably, workers have the option of adopting or rejecting professional standards which have no formal enforcement or regulatory power. The effects of ideology on an individual's work attitudes may thus vary depending on how thoroughly the individual adopts the ideology of the profession as his or her own. And, finally, the study also attempts to account for the effect of the organizational context by contrasting the responses of workers in two different types of organizations that, from their purpose and activities, might be expected to promote different organizational ideologies. These differing contexts might thus differently affect individual attitudes.

This study will be divided into several sections. The first will discuss previous research on job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and ideology, both generally and in relation to the particular occupation under investigation. This section will also present the research questions which will guide the study. The following sections will describe the methodology employed in the study, and the results of data collection. The concluding section will discuss the results and their theoretical and practical implications.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTS AND MODELS

In this chapter, each of the concepts of interest - job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and ideology - are discussed. Research on job satisfaction and organizational commitment is reviewed, with particular attention to factors that may affect these attitudes. A definition of ideology is presented, and the literature which describes ideology in organizations and its effects on individuals is reviewed. The possibility is then explored that ideology, in the form of professional standards, may affect job satisfaction and organizational commitment. The effects of occupational ideologies on individual attitudes are also considered.

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is defined as individuals' cognitive, affective, and evaluative reactions towards their jobs (Locke, 1988). Job satisfaction has been researched extensively, most recently in terms of its relationship to such organizational and individual factors as performance, turnover and absenteeism (Griffin and Bateman, 1986). Thus, while there seems to be little debate about what job satisfaction *is*, there is much discussion of what factors influence its development or strength, and of what effects and consequences it has for the individual and the organization. Both March and Simon (1958) and Lawler (1973) have theorized that job satisfaction results from comparisons between rewards, reward values, and expected rewards. Kalleberg (1977) has further suggested that job satisfaction is also related to the perceived amount of control over job rewards.

An ongoing debate in the job satisfaction literature, perhaps reflecting the management orientation of organizational literature in general, concerns the relationship between job satisfaction and worker performance. Studies attempting to demonstrate a job satisfaction-performance linkage have had varying results. Early studies attempted to draw a direct causal relationship between satisfaction and performance (e.g. Brayfield and Crockett, 1955). Later research indicated that the satisfaction-performance relationship is moderated by a number of variables (Herman, 1973), and that performance may lead to satisfaction rather than the other way around (Lawler, 1973). These varied findings may be in part due to the differing measures of satisfaction, criteria for judging performance, and populations observed in various studies (Arvey, Carter, and Buerkley, 1991).

The wide range of methodologies used in job satisfaction research is demonstrated by the contrast between two large-scale studies. Porac, Ferris, and Fedor (1983) studied registered nurses and production employees, using a single item to measure satisfaction (general satisfaction with the day's performance) and also collecting self-ratings of performance. The resulting correlations between satisfaction and performance were approximately .70. On the other hand, Abdel-Halim (1980) studied 123 salespeople by using subscales of the Job Descriptive Index to test satisfaction and supervisors' ratings of performance; the result was satisfaction-performance correlations ranging from zero to .23. As Iaffaldano and Muchinsky (1985) observe, "The finding that these two variables are not highly correlated questions the assumptions implicit in our organizational programs and policies [and] our research endeavours" (p. 268). Notably, these differing measures of job satisfaction do not appear to reflect differing conceptualizations of what job satisfaction is, but instead differing conceptualizations of how it is manifested.

Workplace conditions are also widely studied as another factor that may affect job satisfaction. Griffin (1991) measured bank tellers' satisfaction before, during, and after the introduction of a job redesign program. He found that satisfaction increased upon the introduction of the program and then decreased to its original levels; however, job performance increased and was maintained at the higher level.

Additionally, the correlation between satisfaction and performance remained positive at an average but insignificant level of .04 before and six months after redesign; after six months, the variables had a negative and insignificant correlation of .08. These results suggest that satisfaction is not fixed at a steady level but fluctuates throughout the worker's tenure with the organization. Additionally, the posited relationship between satisfaction and workplace variables may not only be weak but may also change depending on changes in work conditions.

Research has also attempted to link satisfaction with employee turnover; however, as in the satisfaction-performance literature, these studies are affected by methodological constraints and by external factors, such as unemployment rates at the time the study was conducted (Carsten and Spector, 1987). Turnover is perhaps affected less by satisfaction with work or with one's job and more by one's actual or expressed intention to leave (Waters and Roach, 1981), which may be in turn affected by perceived alternatives. However, a study of turnover in one organization, a financial institution (Lee and Mowday, 1987), indicated that alternative job opportunities did not contribute toward the prediction of an employee's leaving. Instead, intention to leave was affected by job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and level of job involvement.

Attempts have also been made to determine the existence of a relationship between job satisfaction and absenteeism, which has been theorized to be a negative association (e.g. Porter and Steers, 1973). Other researchers (e.g. Clegg, 1983) have suggested that, like the relationship between job satisfaction and other workplace factors, the satisfaction-absenteeism relationship is moderated by biographical and situational variables, such as the availability of paid sick leave (Hackett and Guion, 1985).

Research has also indicated that personal characteristics, such as levels of self-esteem, ability to withstand stress, perceived control over outcomes, and general life satisfaction, affect job satisfaction (Andrisani and Nestel, 1976; Locke, 1988; Near, Smith, Rice, and Hunt, 1984; Scheier, Weintraub, and Carver, 1986). Logically enough, employment factors also may affect job satisfaction; a study of the effects of employment status and work schedules on job satisfaction showed that temporary employees had lower job satisfaction than permanent employees, and part-time employees had lower job satisfaction than full-time employees (Lee and Johnson, 1991). The amount of control an employee can exercise over his or her work has also been recognized as a moderator of the relationship between positive outcomes and environmental factors (Karasek and Theorell, 1990).

It is important to note, however, that a verbal or written expression of job satisfaction does not necessarily indicate that the worker truly is satisfied. Salaman (1981) proposes that studies of job satisfaction may actually examine workers' resignation to or rationalization of the conditions of their job, rather than actual happiness with the work. Kohn and Schooler (1983) further this idea by suggesting that workers who report satisfaction may consider themselves satisfied but may be unaware of more serious and less visible consequences of their work, such as stress or physical damage; thus, focusing primarily on the psychological construct of job satisfaction may overlook the existence of more significant problems in the workplace. Another complicating factor is that workers may be reluctant to express dissatisfaction, since this may involve admitting to themselves that they made a poor job choice and are not happy (Kohn and Schooler, 1983).

Neither of these perspectives questions the generally accepted conceptualization of job satisfaction; however, they do indicate problems in determining actual levels of job satisfaction and the consequences of misidentification of satisfaction and its outcomes. Researchers, therefore, must be careful to choose methodologies which account as much as possible for factors external to reported levels of satisfaction (such as conducting qualitative interviews to assess workers' satisfaction with or resignation to the job).

A further methodological problem encountered in studying job satisfaction, beyond those already mentioned, is that many large-scale studies examine the construct of job satisfaction, with many possible manifestations and consequences, with a single question such as "How satisfied are you with your job?" (McShane, 1992); clearly, measures accounting for multiple components are needed to accurately assess an attitude affected by many situational factors.

Perhaps because of these methodological problems encountered in measuring a complex attitude, some factors that might affect job satisfaction have gone untested or unaccounted for. Among these is ideology, which, as a set of personal or organizational beliefs, could certainly be expected to influence how the individual feels about their job. Ideology would provide a standard to which the realities of the job would be compared. For that same reason, ideology might also affect organizational commitment, which is discussed in the next section.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment is defined as the extent to which an individual identifies with and is involved with his or her organization (Mowday, Steers, and Porter, 1979). Commitment involves a belief in and acceptance of organizational goals and values, a willingness to work hard for the organization, and a desire to remain a member of the organization (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1982). However, as Mowday, Porter and Steers note,

> This definition [of commitment] does not preclude the possibility (or even probability) that individuals will also be committed to other aspects of their environment, such as family or union or political party. It simply asserts that regardless of these other possible commitments the organizationally committed individual will tend to exhibit the three characteristics identified in the foregoing definition (p. 27).

Organizational commitment has also been conceptualized as part of the larger attitude of work commitment, which includes commitment to values, career, job, and union (Morrow, 1983). Other writers have distinguished between affective, or emotional, commitment, and continuance commitment, or a willingness to stay with the organization (Meyer and Schoorman, 1992). Thus, unlike the job satisfaction literature, the organizational commitment literature debates both definitions and effects.

There seems to be evidence that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are related, but the nature of the relationship is indeterminate. Organizational commitment itself is theoretically distinguished from job satisfaction in that it is perhaps more stable and slower to develop than job satisfaction (Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulain, 1974). It is also distinguished from job satisfaction by its different relationship to certain organizational factors; for example, Brooke, Russell, and Price (1988) found in a study of hospital workers that routinization of work was strongly and negatively correlated with job satisfaction but only weakly correlated to organizational commitment. Similarly, Lee and Mowday (1987), in their study of financial institution employees, discovered that the same variables (efforts to change job, expectations, values, organizational characteristics, job performance, and organizational experiences) explained different amounts of variance in job satisfaction and organizational commitment. These results imply that these two "affective responses to job and organization" are indeed distinct from one another.

Some studies, while acknowledging that job satisfaction and organizational commitment are related, hypothesize that the relationship is a causal rather than a parallel one: that job satisfaction is a direct antecedent of organizational commitment (e.g. Bateman and Strasser, 1984; Locke and Latham, 1990; Davy, Kinicki, and Scheck, 1991). Kundi and Saleh (1993) see organizational commitment as the product of numerous organizational factors external to and intrinsic to the individual; they argue that organizational commitment then results in positive task and employee outcomes, including job satisfaction. However, Farkas and Tetrick (1989), in a longitudinal study of commitment, satisfaction, and turnover, observed that satisfaction and commitment were indeed related, but the direction of the relationship varied with the employee's tenure in the organization. Initially, satisfaction caused commitment, but as the employee became more experienced, commitment caused satisfaction. Thus, the true nature of the relationship between organizational commitment and job satisfaction remains undefined, and seems to be very much dependent on the nature of the particular job, organization, or individual studied.

Research on the workplace effects of organizational commitment has shown it to be related to such factors as pre-employment information and early work experiences (Pierce and Dunham, 1987), perceived skill transferability, job alternatives, personal characteristics, and treatment by the organization (Angle and Perry, 1983). Organizational commitment has also been identified as a major factor distinguishing between employees who leave an organization and those who stay. Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian's (1974) study of psychiatric technicians found that organizational commitment was a better predictor of turnover than job satisfaction, similar to the results of Hom, Katerberg, and Hulin's (1979) study of National Guard members in the United States. Stumpf and Hartman (1984) studied the job experiences of business graduates and found that socialization processes affected how strongly commitment related to turnover. However, attempts to link commitment and performance have not found a significant relationship (Steers, 1977).

Recent research on organizational commitment has suggested that it may be a more complex attitude than originally believed. Reichers (1985) argued that, in order to determine commitment, the individuals and groups that are important to the individual must be determined so that the foci of commitment are defined. O'Reilly and Chapman (1986) also suggested that commitment has multiple bases, deriving from compliance with organizational norms to gain rewards, identification with particular groups, and internalization of values that agree with the individual's value system. Becker's (1992) study showed that commitment to foci other than an organization, such as commitment to a supervisor, manager, or work group, and bases of commitment beyond the organization itself served to explain variance in key variables such as satisfaction, prosocial behaviour, altruism, and intent to quit. Clearly, future studies must determine the foci, as well as the strength and effects, of various commitments.

An important focus of commitment other than the organization itself, and one which has not been widely explored, might be ideology: either that held by the individual or one associated with the occupation practiced by the individual. Strong commitment to an ideology might preclude or reduce commitment to the organization if the subscribed-to ideology conflicted with that observed in the organization. Additionally, as suggested previously, the beliefs that constitute ideology might also affect job satisfaction, particularly if job satisfaction is indeed related to organizational commitment. The construct of ideology is further explored in the following section.

Ideology

A commonly accepted definition of the term "ideology" is difficult to find, and may not even exist, but ideology's purpose is generally recognized as "providing an interpretation of the present and a view of the desired future" (Baradat, 1984). Alvesson (1987) makes the distinction between a definition of ideology that promotes false beliefs and deludes the holder and a more "neutral" definition of ideology as a frame of reference that is held in one form or another by all people.

> In recent times, most authors seem to argue for the "neutral" or analytical conceptions of ideology, rejecting it as a critical or pejorative term....The popularity of the analytical, non-pejorative definition is to some extent a

> result of an extended awareness of the problems with an "objectivistic" approach to social science. The ideal of a value-free study of social phenomena, a clear separation between science and ideology, between "truth" and false beliefs is viewed by more and more scholars as totally unrealistic. (Alvesson, 1987, p. 145)

The difficulty in associating a particular value system with the concept of ideology is demonstrated by the varying labels placed on the same set of beliefs in different contexts. For example, Baradat (1984) shows that political beliefs considered conservative in the United Kingdom might be considered liberal in the United States or radical in Chile. Likewise, Jones (1984), in his study of ideologically-based groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous and the Socialist Party of Great Britain, states, "What is perhaps sometimes obscured by the tendency to dismiss belief systems as polar types, however, is the similarity of organizational and behavioural patterns" (p. 73). Thus, the "neutral" definition of ideology is attractive not only because it avoids the problems associated with a definition located in a particular value system (which then invalidates and excludes any other value system), but because it sidesteps the problem of social and contextual influences.

Ideology, for the purpose of this study, will be defined as "relatively coherent sets of beliefs that bind some people together and that explain their worlds in terms of cause-and-effect relationships" (Beyer, 1981). This definition includes several prevalent themes in the study of ideology which are common to definitions otherwise differing in their perspectives. First, ideology consists of a set of beliefs, developed by the individual through personal experience or from the socializing effect of forces such as language, education and the media (Moscovici, 1972). Second, ideology is shared, and is socially constructed through interactions between individuals or groups (Held, 1980). Third, ideology acts as an explanatory device that helps individuals or groups make sense of events or existing social conditions in their world (Israel, 1972) and perhaps gives them hope that positive change is imminent. Ideology thus functions on both personal and collective levels.

Ideology has an additional purpose beyond providing an interpretive framework. It is also used by groups or individuals to promote their particular world vision as the "correct" way of understanding events, and thus reinforce their status or power as the owners of that vision. Most often, this use of ideology is perceived negatively; that is, the ideology promotes false or distorted information so that "some interests tend to dominate and others are pushed aside" (Alvesson, 1987). In organizational literature, this perspective on ideology is most often expressed in the school of critical theory, or, in Burrell and Morgan's terms, anti-organization theory (Burrell and Morgan, 1985). Anti-organization theory encompasses perspectives that critically examine assumptions about the structure and function of organizations which are implicit in mainstream organization theory.

Ideology in Organizations

"The dominant economic class does not, for the most part, produce and disseminate ideology directly" (Gitlin, 1980). Gitlin argues that the dominant class relies upon mass media to reinforce its view of the world. However, this may merely be the explicit means by which this particular ideology is disseminated on a societal scale. The implicit means by which ideologies of dominant groups are disseminated is through organizational culture, which serves to reinforce a particular set of values and norms (Benson, 1977). Ideology can also be disseminated within and between organizations through occupational culture, which establishes values and norms for particular types of work.

The concepts of ideology and culture are very closely related. The ideology of the organization - or, perhaps more accurately, the ideology of powerful individuals within the organization - is made apparent through the culture the organization develops and the symbols the company adopts to express its culture. For example, Dandridge (1984) discusses the functions of ceremonies in organizations, one of which is that "values, roles and objectives for the organization can be passed on in that the ceremony expresses the company's image". Thus the ceremony becomes a way of rewarding behaviour that fits the dominant ideology, and, by extension, discouraging behaviour that opposes that ideology.

Meyer (1982) demonstrates the ideology-culture relationship in his study of how ideologies affect organizational structures and dictate the ways organizations respond to external threats. One hospital in his study whose culture valued "self-reliance and efficiency", for example, discouraged formal external linkages, and reacted to a doctors' strike by "waiting it out". The other hospital, whose culture valued pluralism and innovation, resisted codified procedures and information flows, but reacted to the same strike by developing a contingency plan in advance and implementing it when the strike actually occurred. "Organizational ideologies manifest themselves in members' beliefs....Belief systems materially influence decision processes" (p. 47-48). This perspective also indicates that phenomena within organizations themselves can influence organizational or individual ideology: for example, the motivations of organizational members (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991), the consequences of a fit, or a lack of fit, between organization members and established organizational values

(Sheridan, 1992), and the influence of standards of other organizations in the same industry (Gordon, 1991).

The critical perspective on ideology can also be applied in analyzing organizational culture, given that popular writings on culture have generally described it as a monolithic, consistent, positive phenomenon. Authors such as Peters and Waterman (1982) describe culture in terms of how it can benefit the company if it is "managed", while ignoring the existence of multiple cultures within an organization, the potential dangers of a single dominant management-controlled culture, and the possibility that a culture may harm, rather than benefit, the organization. In addition, there are generally unexamined negative consequences for the individual who does not fit an organization's culture. These may range from the individual failing to be hired to the individual being unable to socialize and assimilate within the organization and eventually leaving (O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell, 1991).

Furthermore, although organizational culture has been widely researched, the role of ideology in organizations has generally been ignored in "management" literature as a whole. "Ideology has not only rationalized the modern world but it has often dominated the analysis of the organizational form [hierarchical] which today dominates this world" (Zwerman, 1970). Management literature holds a conservative view of the organization: one which assumes that all organization members hold the same goals, sees humans as non-volitional and organizations as static, and ignores power relationships between groups in organizations (Zey-Ferrell and Aiken, 1981). In addition, organizational research has displayed "an uncritical acceptance of the conceptions of organization structure shared by participants" (Benson, 1977), and ignored the underlying interests that lead to the promotion of various forms of ideologies (Weiss and Miller, 1987).

Thus, while ideology, in its manifestation as organizational culture, has clearly played a role in the formulation and operation of organizations and in the experiences of individuals within organizations, management literature has not examined ideology's role critically beyond acknowledging its relationship to culture. Instead, existing literature has tacitly accepted the presence of ideology within organizations and ignored its powerful effects. "Organizational literature thereby strengthens and legitimizes an organizational culture which is more compatible with bureaucratic-authoritarian forms of work organization than with bureaucratic-humanistic, participative organizational forms" (Alvesson, 1986, p. 176).

Perhaps not surprisingly, the effect of ideology, particularly the ideology held by the non-managerial individual, on worker attitudes has generally remained unexamined. This may be so for two reasons. One is that individual ideology does not appear to have been distinguished from organizational ideology in organizational literature; there is an implicit assumption that all members of an organization hold the same ideology, and that the ideology of all individuals in an organization is identical to the organization's own ideology or culture. Secondly, the culture of an organization - a group phenomenon - may very well be the reflection of ideology - as an individual phenomenon - but may only reflect the ideology of the individual who founded the organization or who is the current leader. Thus, it is uncritically assumed that the leader's ideology is the organization's ideology (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). The effects of individual, non-managerial ideology on the attitudes of non-managerial workers remain uninvestigated.

The Relationship of Ideology To Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment

Ideology has been shown to exist within organizations both as individually and collectively developed and held sets of values and behavioural norms. In the workplace, where the worker's perception of his or her work would be affected by the framework through which he or she views the work, ideology might be expected to relate to an individual's job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

This perspective is suggested both theoretically and, to a lesser extent, empirically. Salancik and Pfeffer's (1978) model of social information processing identifies the "social reality construction process" as affecting worker attitudes. Social reality construction - the process of collecting and processing information and using one's own behaviour to develop perceptions - operates in organizations as a method by which individuals determine how they feel about the meaningfulness, importance, and variety in their job. The process of social reality construction described by Pfeffer and Salancik parallels the process of ideological development; both involve the individual choosing among available information and perceptions and thus developing a framework through which they view events in the organization.

Since ideology is developed individually and organizationally through social interaction, it seems logical that ideology, like social reality, would then affect the attitudes of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Along the same lines, Steers (1977) cites personal characteristics - "those variables which define the individual" - as one of the antecedents of organizational commitment; one's ideology, or way of viewing the world, must be considered a personal characteristic.

An example of empirical research which investigates the influence of individual ideology is the Stevenson and Ornstein (1981) study relating political beliefs to general life satisfaction. Individuals holding more conservative political views tended to display higher levels of financial satisfaction, higher levels of interpersonal trust, and higher levels of general satisfaction when other socio-demographic variables were held constant. While this study did not specifically examine subjects' feelings about their work, it did suggest that individual ideology may affect other individual attitudes. Thus, it may be worthwhile exploring the effects of ideology in the context of the workplace and in the context of attitudes relating to the workplace.

More specific research in the area of the relationship between individual beliefs and organizations has been conducted in investigations of the socialization process. Through socialization, individuals are transformed from outsiders to members of organizations (Feldman, 1976), by using information gained and processed in the stages of recruitment, "breaking in" (actually beginning work), and "settling in" (adjusting to the job). Van Maanen (1978) notes that the socialization process can vary along a number of dimensions (e.g. informal to formal) but that the overarching goal is to help the individual adapt to the organization by accepting the organization's goals and beliefs - in other words, to match the individual with the organization's ideology. Robbins (1991) also suggests that socialization is a means by which organizational ideology is imparted because top management controls the (formal) socialization process. The individual ideologies of founders or top managers are accepted and enshrined as organizational values, which are then passed along in the expectation that they will be adopted as part of other, less powerful, organizational members' individual ideologies.

While evidence clearly indicates that ideology relates to job satisfaction and organizational commitment, it is somewhat more challenging to predict exactly what the nature of the relationship is. Because ideology is not a direct influence on job satisfaction and organizational commitment - that is, it is moderated through individual and organizational characteristics - the nature and strength of the relationship will likely vary from situation to situation. Investigation of the relationship in a particular situation, or contrasting the relationship as it occurs in different organizations, may, however, provide some general indications of the nature of the relationship.

Influences of Work and Organizations on the Adoption of Ideology

It is also possible that the type of work individuals choose may result in changes to individual ideology. Some forms of work possess an established ideology, communicated informally or formally, which individuals are expected to adopt as their own if they hope to continue in that occupation. In an occupation where ideology is formalized into certification or licensing requirements, the individual must adapt that ideology if he or she wishes to participate in that occupation.

Formal operationalizations of ideology can be found in professional occupations, where expected standards of behaviour, knowledge, organization, and control are established either by members of the profession themselves or by a governing body (Freidson, 1983). Professional standards, like other forms of ideology, provide a set of beliefs about how the world should work. For example, the Hippocratic oath for doctors establishes service to humanity as an ideal to which doctors should aspire. This standard implies that doctors are to be concerned with caring, rather than with material issues such as wealth. It could be argued that doctors, who spend numerous years and large amounts of money studying before entering practice, should be entitled to large financial rewards to compensate for their personal sacrifices - but the standards of the profession instead identify service as the ultimate priority. Thus, professional standards embody values that members of the profession are expected to adopt and uphold, and also serve to maintain control over membership in the profession by forcing individuals to assimilate these values as their own if they wish to belong (Johnson, 1972).

However, neither formal nor informal professional standards may be adopted as individual ideology when they prove to be incompatible with the realities of the occupation. The novelist Theodore Dreiser refers to this situation in relating the story of his first job interview at a newspaper, which took place during a period of intense competition among New York newspapers:

> I looked about the great room, as I waited patiently and delightedly, and saw pasted on the walls at intervals printed cards which read: Accuracy, Accuracy, Accuracy! Who? What? Where? When? How? The Facts - The Color - The Facts! I knew what those signs meant: the proper order for beginning a newspaper story. Another sign insisted upon Promptness, Courtesy, Geniality! Most excellent traits, I thought, but not as easy to put into execution as comfortable publishers and managing editors might suppose (Dreiser, 1922).

Dreiser realized that while "accuracy...promptness, courtesy, geniality" might be ideals to strive for, the demands of competition between newspapers and their reporters might make these ideals difficult, if not impossible, to use in working life. Adopting the organization's ideology, as expressed in this case by the cards on the walls, might result in decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment, or even separation from the organization, because the individual would not be able to perform the job in the fashion that she or he considered acceptable by his or her own standards.

Thus, the individual's work-related attitudes can be moderated by ideology in several ways. An individual can enter and leave an organization with the same set of beliefs or values. He or she can also have his or her ideology altered by socialization experiences which result in the adoption of ideology associated, formally or informally, with the type of work being performed or the organization the work is performed in. If an individual's ideology changes through socialization, the alteration may possibly result in increased job satisfaction and organizational commitment if the individual then feels more "in line" with the rest of the organization. However, the opposite is also possible. Incompatibility with organizational or professional ideology may cause the individual to be dissatisfied. The individual then faces the choice of further altering individual ideology as a way of coping with or reducing dissatisfaction, or maintaining the integrity of his or her own ideology by leaving the organization or profession.

In summary, it is apparent that an individual's ideology may be affected both by the organization within which he or she works and by the occupation he or she belongs to. Further, individual and organizational or occupational ideology may also affect the individual's job satisfaction and organizational commitment. However, the formal requirements of standardized professions do not provide an opportunity to examine the effects of ideology on individual attitudes, because professional standards act as a screening device. Those who do not adopt the profession's ideology are barred from further participating in the profession; thus, any variation in job satisfaction or organizational commitment will not be attributable to any variation in ideology, since variations in ideology will be reduced or non-existent.

Thus, the ideology-satisfaction-commitment relationship can only be meaningfully explored in an occupation which has established standards but also has less than absolute requirements about adherence to those standards and the ideology they reflect. The next step is then to explore the concept of professionalism, to show how professional standards function as a representation of ideology and how the power of those standards varies, and to consider ideology's possible effects on individual beliefs and attitudes, while also considering the influence of the organization.

CHAPTER THREE

PROFESSIONS

In this chapter, issues related to professionalism will be explored. The effects of ideology can be more easily understood in a situation where ideology is formalized in a set of established professional beliefs. Thus, the literature which attempts to determine what constitutes a profession is first discussed. The possibility of professional standards serving as an organizational or occupational ideology is then presented. The potential effect of professional standards on job attitudes is discussed, and the research questions shaping the study are then introduced.

Theories of Professionalism

Theories of professionalism can generally be divided into three schools (Beam, 1990). The first is based on phenomenology: defining a profession on the basis of its members' ordinary usage of the term (Dingwall, 1983). The second could be called the "core characteristics" theory: that professions share a certain set of characteristics, such as a systemized body of knowledge, professional autonomy, public service, and a professional culture (Hall, 1969; Cullen, 1978). The third conceptualizes professionalism as a power relationship: that types of work become professions in order for practitioners to control access to the type of work, to control the market for the work, and to exercise control over clientele (Freidson, 1983; Larson, 1990). While none of these theoretical schools provides an all-encompassing definition of professionalism, taken together they describe the development of thought on the subject and illustrate various aspects of what is considered to constitute professionalism.

The identification of reasons for professions' existence generally centres on standardization and consistency. Weber (1947) saw professionalization as a form of rationalization: a sign of developing bureaucracy within an organization that would ultimately result in an efficient system of coordination and control. Gouldner (1954) interpreted bureaucratization and professionalism as a means of control utilized by powerful individuals wishing to protect their status. Abbott (1988) stated that professions emerge when a question of jurisdiction arises between different skills, citing the example of psychiatry, which developed as a profession distinct from psychology and medicine when there was conflict over who should care for patients suffering from "nerves". Psychiatry's practitioners quickly established a governing body and enforced standards of training and care in order to define and control their particular area of expertise.

Scott (1982) emphasized the importance of social and cultural contexts to developing professions in his historical essay on "the profession that disappeared": that of professional lecturing in the mid-1800s in the United States. He ascribed the growth of this particular profession to the difficulty young men found in entering older, more established professions, thus creating a need for a profession in which educated individuals could use their training. A general desire for increased knowledge resulted in audiences willing to pay to hear professional speakers, and the industrialization of American cities made possible the development of a touring "circuit" of metropolitan centres. Lecturing became a formalized profession when speaking events became sponsored by governmental or quasi-civil institutions, who set standards and communicated with each other to coordinate lecture tours and to ensure consistency in the quality of lecturers. However, lecturing disappeared as a profession within the space of 20 years because of the rise of universities as the newly dominant source of knowledge.

Thus, cultural and social factors must be considered, Scott argues, as forces influencing when and why professions arise or decline. This argument expands to some degree on the views of Wilensky (1964), who contended that not all occupations will become professions. Success in organizing as a profession and subsequent control over entry to and work in the profession, in Wilensky's view, depends on conditions not available to everyone: namely, control over areas of uncertainty and the capacity to organize for collective validation of work.

The example of lecturing as a profession points to another vexing problem in the study of professions: determining when a type of work becomes or ceases to be a profession. Some professions such as law or medicine are developed to the point where there is little question that they are professions. There is restricted access to the occupation through the establishment of educational requirements, the professional association controls the labour market for its members and controls to a greater or lesser degree the characteristics of the work itself, and the profession's members control their clientele through selecting where to work (as an employee) or whom to take on as a customer (as an independent worker). But there are also occupations which possess some characteristics of professionalism as defined by the "phenomenological", "core characteristics", and "power" theories, but which lack other professional features such as total work autonomy. The theories of professionalism described would not classify such work as professional because of the lack of certain professional characteristics - but the professional characteristics that *are* present differentiate such work from less skilled labour. Where, then, do these occupations fit in?

Etzioni (1969) addressed this problem in his research on social workers, teachers, and nurses by defining these and similar occupations as "semi-professions". He argued that these were not strictly professions because of reduced autonomy, supervision performed by people who are themselves semi-professionals or professionals, and more extensive forms of control. Occupations of this sort display characteristics of professional work, such as semi-autonomous work arrangements and licensing of the practitioners - although in some semi-professions, such as social work, it is theoretically possible to perform the work without obtaining specified training in the field.

In semi-professions, the effect of ideology, as embodied in professional standards, is varied. In some semi-professions, licensing or mandatory education ensure that professional standards are transmitted to practitioners, and ensures that members of the occupation conform to the standards and their associated ideology if they wish to work in the occupation. The power and control characteristics of the formal profession are most apparent in this aspect of the semi-profession; professional standards clearly serve as occupational ideology, in expressing a view of how the occupation is to be practiced and controlling who is and who is not a practitioner by eliminating those who do not adopt that ideology.

In other semi-professions, however, the absence of formal membership controls means that professional standards and the accompanying occupational ideology may be transmitted informally or not at all, and that individual practictioners are under no obligation to adopt those ideologies as their own. Professional standards still serve as ideology, but the requirement of adherence to the ideology is much less strict. Thus, it could reasonably be expected that the effects of ideology on job satisfaction and organizational commitment would also vary in these semi-professions, since each individual's exposure to and adherence to the professional ideology would vary.

The argument presented here is that professional standards represent an occupational ideology whose relationship to job satisfaction and organizational commitment has been unexplored. But in order to achieve variation in that ideology, and to examine the effects of other characteristics, it makes sense to examine a semi-profession. In such an occupation, commitment to occupational ideology is likely to vary from individual to individual. Also, members of semi-professions are likely to work in a range of organizational settings because of limited control over where semi-professional work is performed.

A detailed examination of professionalism in a specific semi-profession illustrates the implications of this varying allegiance to occupational ideology and the possible effects of differing workplaces.

Professional Standards and Journalism

An example of the type of work which Etzioni identifies as not being strictly professional but somewhat more developed than obviously non-professional occupations is journalism. "The journalist, unlike the lawyer or doctor, cannot be defined in terms of educational attainment, state certification, or professional standards....The journalist works in many different worlds and performs a multitude of functions" (Ghiglione, 1990, p. 14). The history of journalism's evolution toward professionalization illustrates many of the problems inherent in attempting to develop or enforce a uniform ideology in a semi-professional occupation.

Schudson's (1978) history of American newspapers identifies the desire to make journalism a respectable occupation as the initial force toward professional formalization. This desire arose in the early 1900s as a result of intense competition between New York newspapers. Journalists, under pressure from their publishers to produce stories which would gain more readers, resorted to numerous tricks, interference in events, and outright fabrications in order to get "exclusive" information. An extreme example of this "yellow journalism" was publisher William Randolph Hearst's inflaming anti-Spanish opinion in the United States to the point where the Spanish-American War for control of Cuba erupted; headlines in Hearst's paper proclaimed, "HOW DO YOU LIKE THE JOURNAL'S WAR?" (Ghiglione, 1990). Two authors studying the New York Times' coverage of the Soviet Union during the same time noted that the Times had reported the collapse of the Soviet government ninety-one times, the capture of Petrograd six times, and the destruction of Petrograd by fire twice (Bates, 1989).

Such activities created disrespect and a lack of credibility for the press, and commentators and journalists alike began pressuring for change. Joseph Pulitzer, another New York newspaper publisher, endowed what was to become the Columbia School of Journalism, stating:

> I wish to begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession, growing in the respect of the community as other professions far less important to the public interest have grown...We need a class feeling among journalists, one based not upon money, but upon morals, education, and character (quoted in Schudson, 1978, p. 152-3).

At approximately the same time, journalist Walter

Lippman began crusading for objectivity in journalism, basing the concept of objectivity on the scientific method of the "disciplined experiment". Lippman called for the establishment of a formal profession as a way to "upgrade the dignity of the profession...and design training in which the ideal of objective testimony is cardinal" (Lippman, 1922). Additionally, several newspapers and press associations, trying to avoid the image of the "gutter press", instituted codes of professional conduct, downplaying stories concerned with murder, crime, and scandal, and taking into consideration the plight of those involved in such matters, particularly women (Bates, 1989).

However, Lippman's ideal of objectivity was difficult to achieve, because of the inevitable subjectivity in the process of selection, reporting, and presentation of news (Schudson, 1978). Additionally, the codes of professional conduct that were instituted had no punitive power, so there was no impetus beyond personal morality to adopt their principles. The drive toward formal professionalization was slowed by these practical problems, despite the fact that increasing numbers of journalism schools were improving general levels of education among reporters and providing professional training (albeit varying in quality and content from school to school). A further restrictive factor was the emergence of The Newspaper Guild as a trade union for journalists, thus occupying at least partially the place of any potential licensing or governing body.

By the 1960s, the idea of formalizing journalism as a profession was "suspect" because of general distrust of professionalized institutions like the courts, government, and academia (Schudson, 1978). Journalists were better educated than in previous years, and generally recognized principles of conduct were institutionalized in some newspapers' and press organizations' codes of ethics, but the drive toward formal professionalization was considerably weakened by this time. Dooley (1991) sees the existence of the National News Council in the United States from 1973 to 1984 as a means by which formal professionalization could have been achieved. The council, which heard complaints about news coverage and passed judgement on their validity, provided a forum in which issues relating to media content and coverage could be publicly debated and ruled upon, thus establishing and strengthening the legitimacy of ethical and professional standards. However, the Council ceased operation in 1984 because of lack of financial support.

The drive to formally professionalize journalism has not shown any further signs of reviving, unless one considers the continuing presence of the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC). This body, recognized by the American government's Office of Education, evaluates and accredits schools of journalism based on the schools' rankings by media, industry and educational professionals. The process of evaluation and accreditation is a means of ensuring the maintenance and transmission of professional standards in journalism education, if not throughout the industry itself. However, despite these moves, journalism remains a semi-profession, with accepted standards of conduct but no enforcement mechanism.

The current generally recognized standards of conduct for journalists, as summarized by Beam (1990), are: the expectation that journalists be liberally educated and committed to continuing education (although, he notes, this expectation is fairly loose compared to other professions or semi-professions); an expectation of impartiality in writing or editing; an emphasis on factual accuracy; an expectation of participation in occupationally-related organizations; an expectation of work toward access to sources of information, particularly governments; and an expectation that journalistic work serve the public interest. These standards may be interpreted as moves toward professionalization in that they are measures of control over the entry to the profession and the quality of work; however, even though they may be written or informally communicated expectations of behaviour, they have no formal regulatory or enforcement power.

Thus, journalism is an occupation in which the effects of occupational ideology on individual attitudes may be more visible than in other types of work. As a semi-profession, journalism has generally accepted standards of practice reflecting a particular ideology. However, since journalism is not a fully formalized profession, there are no mechanisms to ensure that the standards are transmitted, adopted or adhered to, and consequently no means to ensure that those who do not follow those standards are screened out of the occupation. It would be reasonable, then, to expect variations in the adoption of the occupational ideology associated with professional standards, and that differences in levels of job satisfaction or organizational commitment might be associated with these variations. This relationship will be explored further in the next section.

Professional Standards as Ideology, Job Satisfaction, and Organizational Commitment

As discussed, professional standards are an operationalization of a particular ideology concerning the "correct" way work should be conducted. Professional standards represent a particular school of thought, developed by past practitioners and administrators, that is transmitted within and between organizations and workers.

However, unlike standards in a formalized profession, standards in a semi-professional occupation are not administered by any organized body or by any form of consistently administered certification. The influence of occupational ideology, as operationalized by professional standards, would be variable in semi-professions because of the lack of a formal means of transmission to practitioners and the lack of formal punishment should standards not be followed. The non-binding power of standards and the lack of required formal training for practitioners could presumably result in some members of the occupation never being trained in professional standards, or deliberately choosing to ignore professional standards. Thus, individuals would have the choice of adopting or rejecting the ideology represented by professional standards. Consequently, the effects of occupational ideology on work-related attitudes such as organizational commitment or job satisfaction will not be consistent.

Some previous research, primarily addressing the question of journalism as a profession, has also examined the relationship between professional standards and job-related attitudes. Merrill (1974) argued that professionalism in journalism could not co-exist with a sense of social responsibility, and that true professionalism necessarily entailed higher levels of autonomy because of the need to determine one's own level of responsibility in the course of journalistic work. Schwartz (1978), in an empirical test of Merrill's ideas, surveyed 35 reporters, editors and photographers to determine how identification with the standards of professional work affected personal values. He found that "high professionals", those scoring high on qualities associated with professionalism (membership in professional group, belief in public service and self-regulation, sense of calling to the field, and feeling of autonomy), also displayed high ambition, need for power, and need for independence. "Low professionals" were more concerned with social responsibility and selflessness. These results suggest that the level of identification with professional characteristics may affect job satisfaction and organizational commitment, depending on how much autonomy or ability to undertake public service the job or the organization offers.

Becker, Sobowale, and Cobbey (1979) used data gathered from 570 journalists to determine how "professional sentiments" (freedom from supervision, helping people, support for editorial policies, importance of autonomy), among other factors, affected commitment to the profession and to the organization. They found that there was little support for a link between job satisfaction and professional sentiments, but that job satisfaction was significantly and positively related to both professional and organizational commitment. Additionally, professional commitment and organizational commitment were related to different variables. Professional commitment was strongly and positively correlated to non-professional values (such as pay, fringe benefits, and job security), high involvement in professional organizations, membership in small organizations, and non-unionization. Organizational commitment was negatively correlated with education, peer feedback, and organizational size, and positively correlated with conservative ideology and community feedback. Thus, job satisfaction and organizational commitment may be affected differently by the same factors: a finding that has also appeared in research involving other workplaces and occupations.

Beam (1990) saw professionalism as an organizational-level concept, arguing that in semi-professionalized occupations the practices of the organization would play a large part in determining the level of professionalism. His study of 300 editors determined that news organizations vary widely in the degree to which their practices conform with the practices that journalists, as an occupational group, believe are desirable, and thus supported the idea that the degree of the individual's professionalization may depend on the organization. Further analysis of the same data (Beam, 1991) found that large-circulation newspapers and newspapers belonging to relatively small chains were more concerned with professional development and promoting professional practices than were independently-owned newspapers or newspapers belonging to large chains. Thus, the ideology of the organization also plays a large role in determining whether individuals adopt occupational ideologies.

It is apparent that the degree of adoption of occupational ideology in semi-professions, or at least in this particular semi-profession, depends on individual and organizational factors. It is also apparent that the effects of ideology on work attitudes are varied. However, one methodological point affecting the results of the cited research must be considered. All of these studies used journalists working at American daily or weekly newspapers as their subjects, which would suggest that to some extent a common organizational ideology might be found among the organizations employing the subjects; this could be expected because of the common task of these publications, that of producing a regular publication with a broad content to retain readers and advertisers. A further variation on the question of the effects of occupational ideology is the effect of differing organizational ideologies, which might not appear in the population used in these studies because of the organizational similarities.

The effect of different organizational ideologies in this particular semi-profession might be more clearly displayed by comparing data from journalists at mass media outlets (such as the daily and weekly newspapers surveyed in previous studies) and from journalists at alternative publications. The distinction is important in this setting because of the previously discussed influences of organizations on individual ideology and attitudes; differing organizational ideologies, such as those which would presumably occur between mainstream and alternative publications, might also influence the degree to which the publication's employees adopt or reject professional standards.

In order to contrast workers in the mainstream and alternative media, it is first important to define what distinguishes the two forms of media from each other. In terms of function, the two forms are similar: to "amuse, entertain, and inform" (Herman and Chomsky, 1990). In intent, however, the two differ considerably. Herman and Chomsky (1990) see the purpose of the mass media as "inculcat[ing] individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviours that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society". The alternative press, on the other hand, are a countervailing force to this goal. The alternative press questions "acceptable" values and beliefs, and draws attention to flaws in the institutional structures of society.

Differentiating the Alternative and Mainstream Media

Herman and Chomsky (1990) propose a "propaganda model" which gives further insight into differences between the alternative and mainstream press. They describe five "filters" through which moneyed and powerful elites choose news worthy of attention and thus marginalize dissent.

The first filter is the size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media. In the nineteenth century the British elite attempted to eliminate a thriving radical press reaching a working class audience by supporting punitive tax laws, prosecutions for libel, and the requirement of an expensive security bond prior to publication. However, the factor which proved to be the downfall of most of the radical papers was changes in newspaper technology, which favoured large-scale production and increased capital costs. Participation in the mass media often requires a huge initial capital investment and the ability to reach a wide audience. Most current alternative papers are produced on a relatively small scale: for example, publishing weekly rather than daily, limiting circulation to a specified metropolitan area, or renting press time rather than owning a set of presses. One changing factor in this area, however, is computerization of the production process and desktop publishing, which are being adapted with increasing frequency by both large and small publications. The net effect of these new technologies remains to be seen.

Ownership and profit orientation also differentiate the alternative and mainstream press. Alternative newspapers are generally individually and locally owned, with the exception of some chain ownership, most notably the New Times and Advocate chains in the United States. The degree of corporate concentration is thus much lower than in the mainstream press. The levels of profit, similarly, are much lower than in the mainstream press, although alternative newspapers are generally considered profitable given the comparatively small scale on which they operate (Prendergast, 1990).

The second filter in the propaganda model is the advertising license to do business. The mass media, because of their ability to reach wide audiences, attract wealthy advertisers with large advertising budgets; thus, the mass media have financial security. The alternative press, however, has traditionally attracted "readers of modest means, a factor that has always affected advertiser interest" (Herman and Chomsky, 1990). Advertisers historically have been more reluctant to place advertisements in a publication that reached a limited audience, when the opportunity was available to reach a wider audience. However, this also may be changing. With increased attention given to advertising aimed at specific demographic and psychographic groups, advertisers may be more interested in a publication that can "deliver" a specific desired group of readers, rather than a mass audience in which the number of targeted customers and the likelihood of reaching those targets is undetermined. The alternative press may thus be able to offer some advertising advantages over the mainstream press.

A situation which has not resolved itself, however, is the political discrimination of advertisers (Herman and Chomsky, 1990). The alternative press is generally perceived as left-wing, and centrist or right-wing firms may refuse to advertise in "radical" publications. This factor may be even more important in recent years with the rise of political pressure groups who organize large-scale campaigns and boycotts against advertisers who support "immoral" publications, music, or television shows. Despite its ability to attract advertisers interested in particular audiences, the alternative press may suffer from some advertisers' reluctance to support non-traditional views.

The third filter in the propaganda model is the source of news. Mass media outlets rely on official sources (government, business, trade groups) for news. They also attract news by virtue of their image of objectivity. The alternative press may be disadvantaged in these respects, by not having sufficient staff to cover sources of official news and by not being perceived as credible or objective by these sources. However, the alternative press may not need to rely primarily on official sources. Its strength in gathering news may be its willingness to go beyond the official sources and search out facts that bring into question the official version of events.

And, while its radical perspective may not ensure credibility with the elite, the alternative press may have more power to attract and diffuse different - and perhaps more meaningful - information. An annual illustration of this content-based division between the mainstream and alternative press is the "10 Most Censored Stories" project. "Project Censored" at Sonoma State University assembles a panel of media observers each year, which selects and publicizes ten stories which were passed over or marginalized by the mainstream press but investigated in depth in the alternative press. The choices for 1991 included stories of how the CBS and NBC television networks refused to show footage of the Gulf War which graphically illustrated damage to Iraq's countryside (contrary to American military claims of minimal impact on civilians), and articles on coverups of the true cost of American savings and loan banks' collapse (Norris and Tira, 1992).

The fourth filter is labeled "flak and enforcers" by Herman and Chomsky. This term describes negative responses to a story, in the form of organized protests or research institutes which expose the supposed left-wing bias in the mass media. The alternative media may be more susceptible than the mass media to reactions of this sort, given their smaller size and weaker financial position. An organized advertiser boycott could seriously harm a small newspaper with a single owner, whereas a larger newspaper owned by a large corporation may have alternative sources of income to balance a loss of advertising revenue.

The fifth filter is perhaps less relevant to either the mainstream or alternative press than it would have been even a short time ago - the use of anti-Communism as a control mechanism. The labeling of alternative viewpoints as Communist was in the past an effective means for mainstream media to discredit challenges or dissent. Given the reduced status of Communism in eastern Europe, however, this mechanism may become less valid as a means of control or marginalization.

Thus, the alternative press are significantly differentiated from the mainstream press. The tasks that they set themselves, and the filters that have been described, indicate a concern with creativity and with offering a different perspective than the mainstream press. The mass media has embraced the value of "neutral" and "objective" coverage with no obvious bias (Schudson, 1978); alternative newspapers, however, have seen their role more as "advocacy journalism...an irreverent, often strident approach"

(Prendergast, 1990). Alternative newspapers could therefore be expected to embody and promote different organizational ideologies than mainstream newspapers, and these differences may affect the ideologies and attitudes of the organization's members.

The Research Questions

The effects of occupational and organizational ideologies on individual attitudes may be demonstrated by comparing the attitudes of workers in the same occupation but employed in different types of organizations. While alternative and mainstream journalists are members of the same occupation, they may see their roles, purposes, and actions as being widely divergent. For the alternative journalist, adherence to such standards as "a disinterested or impartial approach" (Beam, 1990) may restrict the approaches to reporting which are part of the distinctiveness of the alternative press. This rejection of professional standards may lead to differing degrees of adoption of the accompanying organizational ideology, and consequent differences in levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Another influence on the adoption process may be the ideology of the employing organization, which may support or discourage adherence to professional standards. Consequently, the occupational ideology represented by professional standards may have much, little, or no influence on the individual's work attitudes depending on the prevailing culture in the organization. To test the strength of these influences, it is necessary to determine to what degree organizational ideologies have been adopted, whether the degree of adoption differs between workers in organizations with different organizational ideologies, and whether work attitudes vary between workers in different organizations or workers with different degrees of attachment to professional ideologies.

Because little research has been conducted on the effects of occupational or organizational ideology on job satisfaction and organizational commitment, it is difficult to predict causal relationships between these variables. Developing causal hypotheses in organizational behaviour research may be difficult in any situation because of the problem of self-containment, or controlling the effects of unmeasured variables; authors should be forthcoming about the exploratory nature of searches for valid models (James and James, 1989). Therefore, the general research questions, rather than causal hypotheses, which this study will investigate are:

1) Does the adoption of professional standards as personal ideology affect job satisfaction or organizational commitment?

2) Does the strength of this effect differ between workers at different types of organizations?

Given that these questions are being explored in the context of a particular semi-professionalized occupation - journalism - it will, of course, be necessary to determine what exactly the professional standards are for this specific occupation. Thus, the testing of these questions must also involve tests which explore what members of the occupation consider the standards of their occupation to be. While this aspect of the investigation is not presented in the form of a research question of its own, it will be discussed in the methodology and results section to establish the definition of professional standards and thus provide a basis for testing the effects of adoption of those standards.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe the design and methods of data collection and will report response rates. The information will be presented in the order that the data collection process occurred: design of the process, interviews, questionnaire development and distribution, and data refinement.

Design of the Data Collection Method

A combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection was used for this study. The use of multiple methods of research, or "triangulation" (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1966), allows researchers to be more confident in their results, uncover deviance in a phenomenon, and synthesize or integrate theories (Jick, 1979). In this particular situation, "triangulation" in the strictest sense of the term was not employed because qualitative data were not completely integrated with quantitative data nor given equal weight in the data analysis process. However, because next to nothing was known about one set of subjects - journalists working at alternative newspapers - the actual data collection process began by interviewing a sample of these journalists to gather information about their work and their work-related attitudes. The information gathered in this step of the process was used to design and refine a questionnaire, which was then sent to alternative and mainstream journalists.

Sample

The first step in planning the data collection process was to determine what constituted an "alternative" and a "mainstream" publication. This was an important decision, as the difference between alternative and mainstream publications had to represent sufficient variation in organizational ideologies for meaningful data analysis contrasting different types of organizations. The Herman and Chomsky model provides general guidelines as to what constitutes an "alternative" publication: one without profit as its primary motive, with different advertisers and different sources of news than the mainstream press, and more vulnerable to "flak". However, there are literally thousands of large and small publications - magazines, newspapers, and newsletters - that could be labeled "alternative" using Herman and Chomsky's definition. It was important for consistency among and between subjects to choose a definable group of alternative publications that displayed common characteristics. The group selected was the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN), an 82-member association of newspapers located in North America.

The AAN was founded in 1975 with 15 members, and has experienced steady membership growth since that time. AAN members are weekly or bi-weekly publications; the majority are located in urban areas. AAN has strictly restricted its membership by requiring that new members apply and be ratified by the current membership. At the 1992 AAN meeting, 23 membership applications were reviewed and only seven were accepted (Stein, 1992). The majority of rejections occurred because of the applicant publications' lack of news content.

AAN members are defined as "alternative" and selected for membership if they meet one or both of two criteria: they are independent print media in cities where there is only one daily newspaper or publishing agency, or they meet the need for news and analysis which other media miss (AAN, 1992). To encourage independent ownership of AAN member publications, a motion was passed at the 1992 AAN meeting to reject membership applications from publications owned or operated by a daily newspaper.

Choosing subjects employed at AAN newspapers ensured that the employing organizations would have relatively similar work structures, with editors supervising or working alongside writers, and defined production schedules. Thus, the possible influence of variations in these factors would be minimized. Using subjects from AAN newspapers also ensured that there would be a reasonable basis for comparison with subjects at mainstream newspapers, in that both would be employed by organizations whose primary functions were gathering and disseminating news.

Mainstream publications were selected by examining Gale's Directory of Publications, an annual directory organized by geographical region, and selecting the largest circulation daily newspaper or newspapers in areas also serviced by an AAN member publication. Since these publications would clearly be the dominant print media outlet in their regions in terms of size and influence, they would be considered "mainstream" using Herman and Chomsky's distinctions.

Interviews

In-person interviews were conducted during the summer of 1992 with nine journalists at alternative newspapers in the eastern United States (New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island) and four journalists at alternative newspapers in the San Francisco area (San Francisco, Palo Alto, and Berkeley). Interviews were conducted in different geographical areas so that any conditions particular to a certain area would not have a disproportionate influence.

The journalists were selected by telephoning alternative newspapers in these areas and obtaining the names of full-time reporting staff. The "full-time" and "reporting" designations were important because many alternative publications rely on part-time or freelance staff, and because the small editorial staff at many alternative publications means that there is often a blurring of boundaries between editors/managers and reporters. Once names were obtained, letters were sent to these individuals describing the project and asking for an interview, and suggesting dates for the interview to take place.

For the interviews in the eastern U.S., 11 such letters were sent and nine interviews were obtained. The two who were not interviewed declined not because of unwillingness to participate, but because they were not available when the interviewer was in their area. In the San Francisco area, nine letters were sent and four interviews were obtained. (Five interviews were scheduled, but one subject became unavailable at the scheduled time and was not available during the rest of the interviewer's visit.) The four remaining subjects were not in town during the interviewer's visit. The success rate for interviews in this case may have been higher if they had been scheduled at a different time; the interviewer visited during the third week in August when several potential subjects were away on vacation during all or part of the interviewer's visit.

Although the study includes both alternative and mainstream journalists, mainstream journalists were not interviewed. This choice was made because, as mentioned, previous research on journalists and their attitudes has focused exclusively on the mainstream media. Thus, there was previous and extensive information available on mainstream journalists' demographic characteristics and work-related attitudes, and it was decided that the extra cost and time needed to interview mainstream journalists would not result in much useful information above and beyond that available in the literature.

Questionnaire

In August, 1992, each AAN member newspaper in the United States listed in the current AAN Directory was contacted and asked for the names of full-time editorial staff members. (The three AAN member newspapers located in Canada were not included so as to minimize national or cultural variations.) 74 of 79 AAN member newspapers in the United States provided this information. At smaller newspapers, titles may not completely reflect job duties; editors may also write and reporters may participate in editing. Thus, to ensure that all employees who worked as journalists (i.e. writers) were surveyed, editors as well as writers/reporters were included in the sample. This resulted in a list of 288 subjects from the alternative press.

Questionnaire subjects in the mainstream media were chosen in a slightly different fashion. Only those publications in an area where there was also an alternative publication were considered for sampling. This was done to minimize the effects of geographical or regional variation. At least two copies of each targeted publication were then obtained. This was achieved either through visiting the publication's area during the interviewing process described above, visiting the Vancouver Public Library, or purchasing Sunday editions of the newspapers at a Vancouver newsstand. The dates of the newspapers obtained ranged from June 10, 1992, to October 15, 1992. Reporters' bylines from each issue were then recorded. (This is in itself a form of random sampling, since not every reporter will receive a byline every day.) Omitted were those reporters identified as working in a city other than the newspaper's location, reporters writing for a wire service such as the Associated Press, syndicated writers, columnists, and bylines including the designation "Special to [name of newspaper]" which generally indicates a contribution by a freelance writer not permanently employed by the organization.

Once this list of names was generated, the AAN Directory was again used to determine the appropriate number of mainstream subjects. The AAN is subdivided into seven regions: New England, East, Southeast, Midwest, Rocky Mountains, California, and Northwest. The number of alternative journalists sampled in each region was calculated, and the same number of mainstream journalists was then chosen from each region. If reporters' names were available from a mainstream newspaper located in the same city as an alternative publication, the same number of mainstream and alternative journalists was chosen for that city. This was done by selecting every fifth name from the list of mainstream journalists until a number identical to the number of alternative journalists sampled in the same city was reached. If there were no mainstream journalists' names available for a city where there was also an alternative newspaper, names were chosen at random from the other mainstream publications in the region until the overall number of alternative and mainstream journalists sampled in each region was identical. This resulted in a sample of 288 mainstream journalists.

Procedures

Interviews

The in-person interviews with alternative journalists were based on a standard protocol of open-ended questions (Table 1). The interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes to 65 minutes. When possible, the interviews were taped; notes were taken during all interviews. Four subjects felt that they could speak more freely outside the workplace and moved the interview to restaurants or coffee bars. While these locations aided the cause of open discussion, taping was next to useless because of background noise. However, both tapes

TABLE 1
Interview Protocol

How long have you worked here? Where did you work before?

What sort of educational background do you have? Formal training in journalism?

Why did you choose to work here? What do you like/dislike about working here? What parts of your job do you like/dislike most? Why?

How do you feel about the organization? What do you like/dislike about it? How strongly do you feel about the organization (e.g. is working here important to you or not?) Do you feel that you and the organization hold the same views on most subjects? Where and what are the differences? Are the differences problematic?

Do you think that journalism is a profession? Why or why not? Do you consider yourself a professional, or a member of a profession? Why or why not?

Have you ever worked at another newspaper or media outlet? Did you feel differently about your job there? Did you feel differently about that organization? Did you feel that you and that organization had similar views?

Do you think your current employer is "alternative"? Alternative to what?

and notes were transcribed at the minimum in outline form the same day as the interview (full transcription required considerably longer) so the accuracy of the interview's content was preserved as quickly as possible.

After transcription, the interviews were analyzed using the summary form suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984), which requires identification of the main issues or themes that were striking in each contact, the information obtained on each of the general questions for each contact, and any other information that was salient, interesting, illuminating, or important. The themes that most commonly occurred throughout the interviews - low pay, organizational commitment, and level of identification with the journalism profession - were then used as guidelines in choosing the appropriate scales and formulating the open-ended questions in the mailed questionnaire. A sample of the interview summary form and an overview of the information obtained from the interviews is presented in Appendix II.

Questionnaire

A 10-page questionnaire was used to survey all 576 subjects. A draft questionnaire was pre-tested on 10 journalists working at a major Western Canadian daily newspaper. The journalists were asked to complete the questionnaire, calculate the time it took them to finish, describe any problems they perceived with the questionnaire, and state whether or not they would reply to the questionnaire if they received it in the mail. Some small refinements to the format (spacing between questions and the amount of space allotted to open-ended questions) and to the open-ended questions (the distinctions between self-identified professionalism, membership in a profession, and journalism as a profession) were based on these responses. A final copy of the questionnaire was prepared and reproduced on 8 1/2" by 14" sheets compiled into a small booklet, which could then easily be folded in half by the respondent for return mailing.

The questionnaire was sent along with an explanatory cover letter and a pre-addressed stamped envelope, as suggested by Dillman (Dillman, 1978). Each questionnaire was given an identification number so that respondents could be omitted from follow-up mailings. Once the questionnaire data had been recorded, the identification number was removed from the questionnaire itself and replaced with a new number corresponding to the number assigned to the data by the database, so that any subsequent identification of the respondent was impossible.

The first mailing of 576 questionnaires took place in the last week of October, 1992, and the first week of November, 1992. At the end of November, 200 completed questionnaires had been received. A second mailing, identical to the first with the exception of a revised cover letter, was mailed to the remaining 376 respondents between December 7 and 10, 1992.

As of January 15, 1993, 315 completed questionnaires had been returned, along with 10 refused or undeliverable questionnaires. This gave an overall response rate of 54%.

In analysis of the data from the 315 completed and usable questionnaires, it was decided to use only data from subjects who spent the majority of their working time as writers. This was done in order to ensure that workers with relatively similar tasks were being compared. Results were then tabulated for the question which asked respondents to estimate the percentage of their time spent on various tasks, and only those subjects who spent 50% or more of their time writing and/or interviewing and researching - and who thus performed mostly journalists' work - were included in subsequent analysis. This resulted in a subject pool of 247, with 152 employed at mainstream newspapers and 95 employed at alternative newspapers.

The questionnaire and the two versions of the cover letter are presented in Appendix III. A breakdown of the sampling and response rate is given in Appendix IV.

Measures and Operationalization of Variables

Interviews

As shown by the interview protocol in Table 1, the interviews with alternative journalists were intended to collect information about the variables addressed in the research questions - ideology, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment - and to gather demographic information on the journalists themselves.

Occupational and personal ideology overlap to a certain extent in this part of data collection because the research questions are concerned with the adoption of professional standards as personal ideology, and with the influence of organizational ideology. Therefore, these variables together were operationalized by the open-ended questions on journalism as a profession, perceived membership in a profession, the definition of "alternative", different experiences at other media outlets (if the individual had such experience), and similarity of opinions between the employer and the individual.

Job satisfaction was operationalized by questions about choice of employment and likes and dislikes about the present job. Organizational commitment was operationalized by the sets of questions dealing with, feelings about the organization, and strength of attachment to the organization.

Clearly, these operationalizations are not as precise or as quantifiable as those in a numerical measurement scale. However, they did provide general guidelines to ensure that the major areas of interest were covered in each interview.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of:

Demographic Measures

1) A set of demographic questions concerning job title, length of employment, journalism experience, education, age, gender, current job duties, and percentages of time spent on various tasks at work. These questions were included to gather information on the respondents and also to control for any effects of these factors in subsequent data analysis. The percentages of working time were obtained so as to identify those respondents who spent the majority of their time at work writing and/or researching and interviewing, and who thus might be accurately labeled "journalists" no matter what their formal job title was.

Job Satisfaction Measures

2) The short form (20 questions) of the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) (Weiss, Dawis, England, and Lofquist, 1967). This was intended to test the respondents' levels of job satisfaction. The questions in the short form deal with ability utilization, achievement, activity, advancement, authority, company policies, compensation, co-workers, creativity, independence, moral values, recognition, responsibility, security, social service and status, technical and human relations supervision, variety and working conditions. The MSQ questions can be subdivided into

scales testing intrinsic, extrinsic, and general satisfaction (Weiss, Dawis, England, and Lofquist, 1967). The MSQ has been widely tested and is considered one of the most reliable and valid measures of job satisfaction (Cranny, Smith and Stone, 1992). The short form was used because other measures were included in the questionnaire and the MSQ long form, with over 100 questions, was considered too time-consuming for the subjects to complete in addition to the other measures. MSQ items are rated from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied).

Organizational Commitment Measures

3) The Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) (Porter, Steers, Mowday, and Boulian, 1974). This scale was included to test organizational commitment. The 15 questions in this scale address effort, speaking favourably about the organization, self-reported loyalty, willingness to accept work assignments, shared values, degree of identification with the organization, commitment to the type of work, job performance, intention to leave, initial choice of organization, agreement with organizational policy, and rating of the organization against others. The OCQ is the most widely used measure of organizational commitment (Becker, 1992) and has been found to be reliable and valid in several tests in different settings (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1982). OCQ items are rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Occupational Ideology Measures

4) Two sections of the McLeod-Hawley professional orientation scale (McLeod and Hawley, 1964). This scale was chosen to assess personal and professional ideology, on the assumption that adoption of professional standards, and their associated ideology, would be manifested as agreement with those standards. The degree of agreement with professional standards also indicates the degree to which those standards have been adopted as personal ideology.

The McLeod-Hawley scale, originally designed to test the professional orientation of print journalists, has also been applied to broadcasters, photographers, and other information-production workers (Beam, 1990). Although it was developed nearly 30 years ago, which may raise doubts about its applicability in an changing industry, the scale is still the most commonly used test of journalism professionalism and thus was considered the best available measurement instrument.

The McLeod-Hawley scale is intended to distinguish the frames of reference or dimensions of judgement which differentiate professional and non-professional journalists, while recognizing both the general nature of professions and the specific characteristics of journalistic work (McLeod and Hawley, 1963). McLeod and Hawley predict that the more professional journalist will be more in favour of formally implementing professional values and will be more critical of the newspaper for which they work.

The McLeod-Hawley scale is divided into three sections: professional aspects of desired jobs ("professional orientation"), non-professional aspects of desired jobs, and desire for professionalization ("professional implementation"). The majority of items in the "non-professional" section - such as pay, security, task variety, and satisfaction with co-workers - were replicated by questions in the MSQ and OCQ, so this portion of the scale was omitted. Additionally, Henningham (1984) points out that McLeod and Hawley's original scoring formulation for the scale subtracted the score for the non-professional items from the score for the professional items, which may result in "a highly professional individual [being classified] as absolutely non-professional, just because he [sic] thinks other job criteria equally important" (p. 304). Henningham demonstrates that eliminating the non-professional items from the scale will greatly increase the reliability and validity of the "professional" parts of the scale; thus, using only these parts of the scale, as was done herein, ensures a greater degree of reliability and validity.

The "professional orientation" section of the scale tests the importance of holding a job that permits full use of abilities; has opportunity for initiative, professional advancement, and learning; is located at a well-known newspaper; is valuable to the community; has good co-workers; has potential to influence the public's thinking; has autonomy; and makes the organization different in some way. Items on this part of the scale are rated from 1 (extremely important) to 4 (not important).

The "professional implementation" scale tests the level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about job performance (protecting sources, emphasis on the 5 Ws [who, what, why, where and when] at the start of a story, taking "free" promotional trips, and working at a newspaper with differing values), professional training (mandatory college education and refresher courses, learning to write vs. learning to get stories), organization of the newspaper (greater intellectual specialization, journalists' influence over news policies, and duty of the newspaper to its stockholders), and professional organizations (journalists forming one, discipline by such a body, and certification). Items on this scale are rated from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

5) Three open-ended questions to elicit the respondent's views of journalism as a profession and his or her self-perception as a professional and as a member of a profession. These were included to further test the degree of adoption of occupational ideology as personal ideology, with the

underlying rationale that an individual could score high on a scale designed to test professional values but might not choose to call himself or herself a professional because of disagreements with various aspects of a profession or with professionalization itself. These distinctions were suggested by interview data and also by two of the 10 pre-testers of the questionnaire.

The first of this set of questions asked if the respondent considered journalism a profession, the second asked if the respondent considered him/herself a member of a profession, and the third asked if the respondent considered him/herself a professional. Each of these questions asked for a yes/no response and provided space for the respondents to elaborate on reasons for his or her answer.

Additional Measures

6) A general open-ended statement inviting respondents to clarify their answers or comment on any related matters. This was included so that respondents could discuss any issues of importance to them that were not sufficiently dealt with in the other questions. The length of some of the interview responses also suggested that such a question would be useful in illuminating the reasoning behind responses or in gathering general information.

Data Analysis

Data from the questionnaires were entered and analyzed using the Statview 512+ statistical analysis program for the Macintosh. For reliability analyses, which this program does not conduct, data were analyzed using SPSS on the Macintosh.

Operationalization of Variables

A summary of the operationalization of variables and the questions that provided data on each variable in subsequent analysis is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Operationalization of Variables

Scale/Variable Name	Definition	Question Number(s) In Questionnaire
Length of Time with Current Employer	in years	2
Journalism Experience	in years	3
Education	formal, in years	4
Age	in years	5
Gender	0=male, 1=female	6
Journalism Education	formal, in years	7

(cont'd)

TABLE 2 (cont'd)

Scale/Variable Name	Definition	Question Number(s) In Questionnaire
Organizational Commitment	extent of identification with and involvement with organization	10-24
Job Satisfaction	cognitive, affective, & evaluative reaction to job	25-41, 43-44
Journalism as a Profession	agreement that journalism is a profession 0=no, 1=yes	69
Self-Identification as Member of a Profession	consider self a member of a profession 0=no, 1=yes	70
Self-Identification as a Professional	consider self a professional 0=no, 1=yes	71
Professional Orientation	desire for job with characteristics of professional career	45-55
Professional Implementation	desire for a professional organization	66-68
Type	mainstream or alternative newspaper 0=mainstream, 1=alternative	determined by ID number of questionnaire

Reliability and Validity

The initial alpha-reliability analysis of the four scales in the questionnaire indicated alpha coefficients of .8923 for organizational commitment, .7944 for job satisfaction, .73 for professional orientation, and .36 for professional implementation. A test of the changes in scales' reliablity when particular items were removed, however, showed that dropping one item from the organizational commitment scale (Question 16, "I could just as well be working for a different organization as long as the work was similar"), increased reliability by .0305. Likewise, dropping a single item from the job satisfaction scale (Question 42, "The way my co-workers get along with each other"), increased reliability by .0723. Thus, these two questions were removed from these scales in subsequent analysis.

The original coefficient alpha of reliability for the second part of the McLeod-Hawley scale, the "professional implementation" scale, was very low. It is possible that this scale is an example of what Cronbach called a "lumpy" scale (Cronbach, 1951): one composed of discrete and homogenous subtests. This type of scale consists of a series of statements testing distinct attitudes or beliefs with which the respondent agrees or disagrees in varying degrees, rather than being a unified set of items which test different dimensions of a single attitude.

To discover if indeed the "professional implementation" scale was testing more than one attitude, an orthogonal varimax factor analysis using the questions from the "professional implementation" scale was conducted. This analysis produced five factors with eigenvalues greater than one, as shown in Table 3. However, the only factor with a reliability alpha greater than 0.2 was the one incorporating Questions 66, 67, and 68. All these questions deal with the possibility of a professional organization for journalists. Thus, only these three questions were used as the "professional implementation" scale in subsequent analysis.

After these adjustments were made, all four scales had high coefficients of reliability and thus can be expected to produce consistent measurements. The coefficients for reliability after these adjustments were made are shown in Table 4.

Ensuring validity is somewhat more complex, but there are two attributes of the scales used that increase validity. Face or content validity is the extent to which a scale addresses all relevant facets that may affect respondents' attitudes: the use of multiple-item scales is one way to increase this type of validity (Nunnally, 1967). Both the MSQ and the OCQ contain sub-scales designed to test various aspects of commitment and satisfaction, and thus can be

TABLE 3
Factors Derived from Orthogonal Varimax Factor Analysis of Responses to Questions 56 to 68

Questions	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
56	0.072	0.615	0.317	0.086	-0.013
57	-0.065	-0.138	0.665	0.086	0.019
58	-0.234	0.371	0.160	-0.010	0.612
59	0.203	-0.511	0.207	0.187	-0.036
60	0.185	-0.120	-0.096	-0.155	0.704
61	0.258	-0.000	-0.116	0.261	0.699
62	-0.000	0.760	-0.138	0.063	0.041
63	0.250	0.119	-0.452	0.531	0.124
64	-0.042	-0.035	0.195	0.836	-0.030
65	-0.194	-0.370	-0.532	-0.025	0.135
66	0.793	0.072	-0.097	0.136	0.150
67	0.785	-0.019	-0.000	-0.082	-0.041
68	0.764	-0.171	0.105	0.047	0.177

TABLE 4
Alpha Coefficient for Reliability of Scales (after adjustment)

Scale	Alpha
Organizational Commitment	0.9228
Job Satisfaction	0.8667
Professional Orientation	0.7300
Professional Implementation	0.7242

considered more valid than a single-item scale testing the same attitudes. The two professionalism scales are also multi-item scales addressing several aspects of the same issue.

Strong correlations between constructs that are strongly associated with the same attitude indicate construct validity, or accurate testing of the underlying variable or attitude (Parasuraman, 1986). As can be seen in Table 8 in Chapter 5, the organizational commitment and job satisfaction variables are strongly and positively correlated (.704). The literature reviewed suggests that these two attitudes are closely related, and thus this high correlation would indicate construct validity for both scales. Likewise, the two professionalism scales are positively and significantly correlated (.126), indicating construct validity for both. However, the strength of the correlation is considerably less than that of the job satisfaction-organizational commitment correlation.

Data Analysis Techniques

To test the research questions and to determine relevant professional standards for this specific occupation, different statistical techniques were employed.

The identification of professional standards was done in two steps. First, the total scores for the two parts of the McLeod-Hawley scale were calculated, assuming that a high score would indicate agreements with the professional characteristics expressed in the scale, and then a Student's *t*-test was conducted to test for differences in means between the alternative and mainstream populations. The *t*-test was intended to determine if adoption of professional standards differed between the two populations, and thus to determine if oragnizational ideology had an effect as suggested in the second research question. Along the same lines, a chi-square test was employed to test for significant differences in the number of "yes" and "no" responses to the question testing self-identification as a professional (Question 71); a chi-square test rather than a *t*-test was used in this case because of the dichotomous coding of the answers to this question (0=no, 1=yes).

To determine how alternative and mainstream journalists define "professional", the responses to the open-ended part of Question 71 were transcribed and content-analyzed to identify the most commonly occuring themes. The appearance of these themes was then counted and classified as coming from an alternative or mainstream journalist, to see if there were any apparent differences in how these two groups conceptualized professionalism and their attachment to a profession.

The research questions address whether the adoption of professional standards as personal ideology affected job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and if the strength of this effect differed between alternative and mainstream journalists. To answer these questions, two forms of "adoption of professional standards" were employed. The first was represented by the scores from the McLoed-Hawley scale, assuming that a higher scoring response to the McLeod-Hawley scale indicated a higher degree of adoption of the attitudes expressed in the scale's questions. In the second definition of "adoption of professional standards", adoption was represented by the "yes" or "no" responses to the question testing self-identification as a professional (Question 71), on the assumption that self-identification as a professional would represent the adoption of a particular set of standard behaviours and attitudes associated by the respondent with professional status. However, this self-identification might not necessarily be represented by agreement with the standards incorporated in the McLeod-Hawley scale, and could instead be based on the respondent's own conceptualization of professionalism.

These two tests of adoption of professional standards were then used as independent variables in four ordinary least squares multiple regressions, along with an independent dummy variable representing the type of newspaper employing the respondent (0=mainstream, 1=alternative), in order to determine differences caused by organizational ideology. Job satisfaction and organizational commitment were employed in these regressions as the dependent variables.

A multiple regression serves to identify the amount of variation in a dependent variable that can be attributed to the presence of one or more independent variables; the technique of using dummy variables as independent variables in multiple regressions is appropriate when data on the independent variables are categorical rather than continuous (Parasuraman, 1986). In this situation, some data on professional identification are categorical (yes/no for self-identified professionalism) so the use of a multiple regression with independent dummy variables is appropriate.

When the regressions were conducted, demographic variables representing factors identified in previous research as possibly affecting job satisfaction and organizational commitment were included in the equations as control variables. This was done so as to determine as closely as possible the effects of professional attitudes on work attitudes, without interference from the effects of other variables.

The four regression equations that are tested are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5
Regression Equations Tested for the Second Research Question

With Scale-Based Professionalism (McLeod-Hawley Scale):

Y(Organizational Commitment) = $a+b_1X_1$ (McLeod-Hawley Score)
$+b_2X_2$ (Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$ (Years with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$ (Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$ (Age)
$+b_6X_6$ (Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$ (Education)
$+b_8X_8$ (Gender)

Y(Job Satisfaction) = $a+b_1X_1$ (McLeod-Hawley Score)
$+b_2X_2$ (Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$ (Years with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$ (Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$ (Age)
$+b_6X_6$ (Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$ (Education)
$+b_8X_8$ (Gender)

With Self-Identified Professionalism (Yes or No Responses to Question 71):

Y(Organizational Commitment) = $a+b_1X_1$ (Professional or Not)
$+b_2X_2$ (Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$ (Years with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$ (Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$ (Age)

(cont'd)

TABLE 5 (contd.)

$+b_6X_6$ (Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$ (Education)
$+b_8X_8$ (Gender)

Y(Job Satisfaction) = $a+b_1X_1$ (Professional or Not)
$+b_2X_2$ (Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$ (Years with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$ (Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$ (Age)
$+b_6X_6$ (Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$ (Education)
$+b_8X_8$ (Gender)

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the data collection and analyses. Descriptive statistics are presented first, followed by the tests of the research questions and their results.

Descriptive Statistics

Demographics

Demographic variables for the subjects, with means and standard deviations, are presented in Table 6. A comparison of mainstream and alternative journalists' demographic characteristics, using the Student's *t*-test, was conducted to see if there were significant demographic differences between these two groups which might affect subsequent analyses. A *t*-test was used as it is the most appropriate way to determine if there are significant differences between means obtained from different populations (Parasuraman, 1986).

Various significant differences were found between the two groups. The mainstream journalists in the sample are significantly older than the alternative journalists, have more journalism experience, and have more journalism education. The mainstream journalists have also been

TABLE 6
Demographic Variables

	Mainstream		Alternative		Overall	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Years with Current Employer	8.875***	7.540	4.526***	4.084	7.202	6.765
Years of Journalism Experience	14.901***	8.679	10.021***	6.089	13.024	8.131
Level of Education (5=completed technical school, 6=completed bachelor's degree)	5.678	1.107	5.484	1.344	5.603	1.205
Age (in years)	38.329**	9.119	35.221**	7.180	37.134	8.546
Years of Formal Education in Journalism	2.207**	1.950	1.436**	2.363	1.910	0.137

**p<0.05
***p<0.005

employed longer at their current workplaces. The overall levels of education are similar for both groups.

Although it is not presented as a variable in the table, the gender of respondents was also ascertained through the demographic questions in the questionnaire. 35.1% of the mainstream respondents are female; 33.7% of the alternative respondents are female; and 34.6% of the entire population are female. There were no statistically significant differences between the gender composition of these two groups.

The demographic differences suggest that different types of individuals are employed at alternative and mainstream newspapers. The fact that journalists at mainstream newspapers have more formal training in journalism suggests that they might be more familiar with the professional standards of journalism. The mainstream journalists' greater age and professional experience might also result in more exposure to and adherence to professional standards and occupational ideology.

Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, and Ideology

The means and standard deviations for the variables representing job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and ideology, excluding dummy variables, are presented in Table 7, with statistically significant differences between alternative and mainstream journalists noted. The only statistically significant difference in non-demographic variables between the two groups occurred in the organizational commitment variable. Alternative journalists had a higher level of organizational commitment than did mainstream journalists.

The lack of differences is somewhat surprising given the expected variations in organizational culture between the two groups, which might result in individuals being employed in

TABLE 7
Means and Standard Deviations of Key Variables of Interest

	Mainstream		Alternative		Overall	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Job Satisfaction	3.714	0.528	3.802	0.555	3.748	0.539
Organizational Commitment	4.502**	1.273	4.994**	1.070	4.691	1.221
Professional Implementation[1]	12.336	4.902	12.347	4.726	12.340	4.825
Professional Orientation[1]	18.107	4.566	18.316	3.893	18.188	4.310

***$p<0.05$

[1] The scores from these two parts of the McLeod-Hawley scale were combined to produce the variable representing ideology. They are presented separately here to show any differences in the scores for the two groups on each part.

organizations whose culture fitted with their own beliefs and rejecting organizations with cultures they did not perceive as suitable for themselves. However, the subjects all still perform the same type of work, no matter which kind of organization they work in, and this occupational similarity may override any attitudinal differences.

Correlations Between Variables

Table 8 presents the correlations between the variables employed in the analyses. Correlational analysis determines the amount of variation in one variable that can be explained by its relationship with another variable (Runyon and Haber, 1982). However, the dichotomous variables used in subsequent analysis (gender, type of publication, journalism as a profession, self-identification as a member of a profession, and self-identification as a professional) have been excluded from this table, as dichotomous variables are inappropriate for correlational analysis due to the limited range of potential answers (Runyon and Haber, 1982).

25% of the total number of inter-variable correlations are significant. "Length of time with current employer" correlates significantly with journalism experience and age, as do journalism experience and age with each other, but this is to be expected as older workers obviously have had more time to gain experience and to have been employed with their current employer.

The professional orientation variable is negatively associated with organizational commitment, suggesting that respondents who identify strongly with characteristics associated with professionalism are not strongly committed to their organizations. A negative correlation also exists between job satisfaction and the professional orientation

TABLE 8
Correlations Between Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Length of Time With Current Employer	-								
2. Journalism Experience	.759								
3. Education	.070	.016							
4. Age	.690	.814	.072						
5. Journalism Education	.064	.172	.163	.012					
6. Organizational Commitment	-.071	-.071	.000	-.061	.044				
7. Job Satisfaction	.017	.016	.021	.032	.048	.704			
8. Professional Orientation	-.087	-.053	-.073	-.097	-.036	-.154	-.276		
9. Professional Implementation	.050	.073	-.054	.071	-.077	.062	.000	.126	-
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

$r>.131$, $p<0.05$; $r>.181$, $p<0.01$.
n=242 (5 cases deleted with missing values).

variable. This finding suggests that workers who strongly identify with their profession are less satisfied with their jobs; likewise, Scott (1965) suggests that professional-organizational conflict will occur when the demands of the employing organization differ from the standards of the profession.

A high correlation exists between job satisfaction and organizational commitment. This is not surprising given that the literature identifies these as related variables.

T-tests with Dichotomous Variables

While dichotomous variables are inappropriate for inclusion in correlational analysis, they can still provide information on significant differences in responses from distinct groups. A series of two-tailed unpaired T-tests was conducted using each of the dichotomous variables to test for differences in responses in each of the continuous variables (length of time of employment, journalism experience, education, age, journalism education, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, professional orientation, and professional implementation). The demographic differences between mainstream and alternative journalists have been tested (Tables 6 and 7); significant results for the other dichotomous variables are reported in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9
Significant Differences in Continuous Variables Between Groups Determined by Dichotomous Variables

	Men	Women	t-values
Gender (85 women, 162 men)			
Education	5.429	5.918	-3.082***
Professional Implementation	12.963	11.129	2.871***
Professional Orientation	18.725	17.176	2.711***

	Yes	No	t-values
Journalism As A Profession (29 no, 213 yes)			
Journalism Experience	12.052	14.345	2.375**
Professional Implementation	12.535	16.310	2.423**

	Yes	No	t-values
Member of a Profession (30 no, 209 yes)			
Professional Implementation	11.995	14.300	2.464**

	Yes	No	t-values
Self-Identified Professional (19 no, 221 yes)			
Length of Current Employment	6.973	10.221	2.010**
Professional Implementation	12.043	14.572	2.203**
Professional Orientation	18.041	20.105	1.996**

**p<0.05
***p<0.005

These differences indicate variations in responses between members of various groups. Gender produces the strongest effects; male respondents have more education than female respondents, but women are more in favour of professionalization. Less strong but still significant differences are seen between respondents divided on the issue of journalism's status as a profession. Those identifying journalism as a profession have worked longer for their current employer, have more journalism experience, and are more in favour of professional implementation than those believing journalism is not a profession. Those who identify themselves as members of a profession are also more strongly in favour of professionalization, as are those who identify themselves as professionals. However, those not identifying themselves as professionals have worked longer for their current employer than those who identify themselves as professionals. Finally, as previously shown, alternative journalists have higher organizational commitment than mainstream journalists.

Determination of Professional Standards

The McLeod-Hawley Scale

The two parts of the McLeod-Hawley scale used in this study test values that are representative of established professional standards in journalism; thus, a high score on this scale would indicate adoption of professional standards, and, by extension, adoption of the occupational ideology articulated by those standards.

The maximum possible total score for the scale is 65: 44

for the "professional orientation" section of the scale (maximum responses of 4 on each of the 11 items) and 21 for the "professional implementation" section of the scale (maximum responses of 7 on each of the 3 items). Note that the range of responses for the "professional orientation" scale in the questionnaire was originally established so that 1 was a positive response and 4 was a negative response; the data were recoded for this test to be consistent with the direction of the range of responses for the second scale.

Table 10 presents the means of the McLeod-Hawley scores for alternative and mainstream journalists. Again, the Student's *t*-test was used to determine significant differences in the responses from the two groups. The mainstream and alternative journalists did not differ

TABLE 10
Mainstream and Alternative Journalists' Responses to the McLeod-Hawley Scale
(Questions 45-55 and 66-68 in Questionaire)

	Mainstream (n=152)	Alternative (n=95)	t-value
Professional Orientation (maximum=44)	18.107	18.316	-.019
Professional Implementation (maximum=21)	12.336	12.347	-.369
Overall	30.204	30.663	-.494

significantly in their scores for this scale. Also, a theoretical average score on this scale would be 32.5 (65/2), and 60% of all respondents had scores below this number. However, a theoretical average score for the "professional implementation" section of the scale would be 10.5 (21/2), and for both mainstream and alternative journalists the means of responses were above this average. This indicates that journalists may feel more strongly about the idea of professional structures in their occupation than about the proposed set of professional standards.

Open-Ended Responses

The questionnaire also included three open-ended questions relating to professionalism. These may be a more accurate operationalization of respondents' actual attitudes toward professional standards and occupational ideology, since the respondents were allowed to express their reasons for answering as they did, rather than choosing a numerical response to a predetermined list of questions. The results from these three questions are presented in Tables 11, 12, and 13. Additionally, a chi-square test was conducted to determine if any significant differences existed between the two groups in their responses to the "yes" and "no" parts of each question. (The comments from the open-ended parts of each question, which these results summarize, are presented in Appendix V.)

TABLE 11
Attitudes toward Journalism as a Profession
(Question 69 in Questionnaire)

	Alternative	Mainstream
Do you consider journalism a profession?		
Yes	77 (85%)	136 (90%)
No	14 (15%)	15 (10%)

Chi-square=1.599, p=0.206

	Alternative	Mainstream
Reasons Cited in Open-Ended Responses*		
Skills/Experience/Expertise	30	33
Training	14	20
Importance to Society/Public	8	19
Standards/Quality	12	7
Discipline/Commitment Needed	9	5
Aptitude/Personality Type Needed	2	7
Paid for Work	5	2

---

*Only those reasons cited by two or more respondents are included. Many respondents cited more than one reason, so the total number of reasons is greater than the number of respondents.

TABLE 12
Self-Identification as Member of a Profession
(Question 70 in Questionnaire)

	Alternative	Mainstream
Do you consider yourself to be a member of a profession?		
Yes	73 (82%)	136 (91%)
No	16 (18%)	14 (9%)

Chi-square=3.802, p=0.0512

	Alternative	Mainstream
Reasons Cited in Open-Ended Responses*		
Skills/Experience/Expertise	10	14
Member of An Identifiable Group	13**	6
Paid for Work	10	2
Importance to Society/Public	6	3
Standards/Quality	3	4
Believe Journalism is a Profession	2	5

---

*Only those reasons cited by two or more respondents are included. Many respondents gave more than one reason, so the total number of reasons is greater than the number of respondents.

**3 of the "alternative" respondents stated that journalists were an identifiable group with characteristics which they personally did not share or did not want to share.

TABLE 13
Self-Identification as a Professional
(Question 71 in Questionnaire)

	Alternative	Mainstream
Do you consider yourself a professional?		
Yes	81 (90%)	140 (93%)
No	9 (10%)	10 (7%)

Chi-square=0.857, p=0.3545

	Alternative	Mainstream
Reasons Cited in Open-Ended Responses*		
Observe Standards of Work/Conduct	39	30
Paid for Work	13	4
Skills	5	6
Experience	4	5
Work Hard	4	2

---

*Only those reasons cited by two or more respondents are included. Many respondents gave more than one reason, so the total number of reasons is greater than the number of respondents.

Mainstream and alternative journalists were consistent in identifying journalism as a profession and themselves as professionals. However, more mainstream than alternative journalists identified themselves as members of a profession.

While alternative and mainstream journalists differed on their responses to these questions, the only statistically significant difference, as indicated by the chi-square test, occurred in responses to the question about self-identification as a member of a profession. A greater proportion of mainstream journalists considered themselves members of a profession.

Otherwise, there were no significant differences; large percentages of mainstream and alternative journalists considered themselves professionals and considered journalism to be a profession. The reasons articulated for these choices were also very similar for both groups.

The McLeod-Hawley scale represents a particular view of what constitutes professionalism in journalism, and articulates several of the general standards for journalists described by Beam (1990): education, impartiality, accuracy, participation in an occupational organization, and service to the public. Thus, it is a reasonable test of adherence to accepted and recognized professional standards, and, by extension, the adoption of the occupational ideology inherent in those standards. By this criterion - using the overall results from the McLeod-Hawley scale (Table 10) - it would appear that neither mainstream nor alternative journalists adopt the occupational ideology represented by their profession's standards. However, the answers to the open-ended questions (Tables 11-13) indicate that some form of occupational ideology has been adopted, since a majority of mainstream and alternative journalists consistently identify themselves as professional and give consistent reasons for doing so.

The Definition of "Professional"

The answers to the three open-ended questions concerning professional identification, professional membership, and journalism's professional status provide some information about how mainstream and alternative journalists define "professional". As indicated in Table 13, 90% of alternative journalists and 93% of mainstream journalists consider themselves professionals; interestingly, despite the apparent rejection of the occupational ideology represented by the McLeod-Hawley scale, the most commonly cited reason for such self-identification is adherence to particular standards of work or behaviour.

The behaviours that were mentioned in reasons for self-identification as a professional are presented in Table 14.

TABLE 14
Behaviours Cited in Self-Identification as a Professional
(from open-ended responses to Question 71 in Questionnaire)

	Alternative	Mainstream
Maintain High Quality of Work	12	8
Ethical Behaviour	8	7
Aware of Responsibility to Public/ Society	9	3
Maintain Standards	5	1
Respect for Interviewees/Sources	5	1

There seems to be general agreement on what professional qualities should be present in a professional journalist, even if there is no licensing or regulating body to uphold and enforce those qualities. Occupational ideology, according to these self-determined standards, involves high quality work, ethical behaviour, awareness of responsibility to society or the public, maintaining standards (generally described as personal standards of quality), and respect for interviewees and sources of information. There was no mention of a need for regulation; in fact, three alternative and five mainstream journalists stated in their questionnaires that they did not believe licensing or regulating was necessary to maintain these standards - indeed, they felt that such structures would restrict the freedom that journalists needed to do their work properly. This should also be considered in light of the nine respondents to the "member of a profession" question in the questionnaire who cited contacts with a community of other journalists as a reason for considering themselves part of a profession; it may be that informal networking supplements the information distribution and regulatory functions of a formal professional organization.

Interestingly, alternative journalists were much more inclined than mainstream journalists to provide supplemental information in the open-ended responses to this question. This may be because of the credibility problems of the alternative press cited by Herman and Chomsky. Alternative journalists may be more articulate in defining occupational ideology because being treated as a professional is more of a concern for this group than for employees of an established and respected mainstream publication.

The Research Questions

The first research question asked if the adoption of professional standards affected job satisfaction or organizational commitment, and the second question asked if the strength of this effect differed between alternative and mainstream journalists. Since professional standards represent occupational ideology in this framework, and organizational ideology is represented by the distinction between mainstream and alternative journalists, the answers to these questions would indicate if ideology does indeed affect work attitudes.

The two questions were tested by conducting four ordinary least squares multiple regressions. Demographic variables were included as independent variables to control for the effects of demographic characteristics. The dependent variables in the regressions were job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

One set of regressions used the McLeod-Hawley scale scores as the basis for adoption of occupational ideology. In the second set of regressions, the yes-no responses from Question 71 ("Do you consider yourself a professional?") were used as the basis for adoption of professional ideology, with "no" equalling 0 and "yes" equalling 1. "Type of publication" was coded as 0 for mainstream and 1 for alternative.

Two separate regressions were conducted for each form of occupational ideology, with organizational commitment the dependent variable in one and job satisfaction the dependent variable in the other, for a total of four regressions. The results of the regressions are presented in Tables 15 and 16.

TABLE 15
Results of Regression With McLeod-Hawley Scale Scores
(n=247)

Y(Organizational Commitment) = $a+b_1X_1$(McLeod-Hawley Score)
$+b_2X_2$(Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$(Length of Time with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$(Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$(Age)
$+b_6X_6$(Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$(Education)
$+b_8X_8$(Gender)

	ß	s.e.
McLeod-Hawley Score	-0.110	0.153
Type	0.595***	-0.157
Current Employer	-0.004	0.018
Experience	-0.005	0.020
Age	-0.001	0.016
Journalism Education	0.050	0.039
Education	0.010	0.067
Gender	-0.229	0.171

Multiple R^2 for Organizational Commitment Equation	0.025
Overall F for Organizational Commitment Equation	1.784*

Y(Job Satisfaction) = $a+b_1X_1$(McLeod-Hawley Score)
$+b_2X_2$(Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$(Length of Time with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$(Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$(Age)
$+b_6X_6$(Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$(Education)
$+b_8X_8$(Gender)

(cont'd)

TABLE 15 (cont'd)

	ß	s.e.
McLeod-Hawley Score	-0.017**	0.033
Type	0.117	0.076
Current Employer	-0.005	-0.008
Experience	-0.001	-0.008
Age	-0.004	-0.017
Journalism Education	0.015	0.017
Education	-0.006	0.030
Gender	-0.065	0.076

Multiple R^2 for Job Satisfaction Equation	0.027
Overall F for Job Satisfaction Equation	1.848*

*p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.005

TABLE 16
Results of Regression With Self-Identification as a Professional (Classification Based on Responses to Question 71 in Questionnaire)
(n=240)

$$
\begin{aligned}
Y(\text{Organizational Commitment}) = a &+ b_1X_1(\text{Professional or Not}) \\
&+ b_2X_2(\text{Type of Newspaper}) \\
&+ b_3X_3(\text{Length of Time with Current Employer}) \\
&+ b_4X_4(\text{Journalism Experience}) \\
&+ b_5X_5(\text{Age}) \\
&+ b_6X_6(\text{Journalism Education}) \\
&+ b_7X_7(\text{Education}) \\
&+ b_8X_8(\text{Gender})
\end{aligned}
$$

(cont'd)

TABLE 16 (cont'd)

	ß	s.e.
Professional	0.246	0.288
Type	0.491**	0.160
Current Employer	-0.003	0.019
Experience	-0.002	0.020
Age	-0.005	0.017
Journalism Education	0.046	0.039
Education	0.026	0.067
Gender	-0.229	0.172

Multiple R^2 for Organizational Commitment Equation	0.024
Overall F for Organizational Commitment Equation	1.725*

Y(Job Satisfaction) = $a+b_1X_1$(Professional or Not)
$+b_2X_2$(Type of Newspaper)
$+b_3X_3$(Length of Time with Current Employer)
$+b_4X_4$(Journalism Experience)
$+b_5X_5$(Age)
$+b_6X_6$(Journalism Education)
$+b_7X_7$(Education)
$+b_8X_8$(Gender)

	ß	s.e.
Professional	-0.049	0.129
Type	0.103	0.072
Current Employer	-0.001	-0.008
Experience	-0.001	-0.009
Age	-0.001	-0.007
Journalism Education	0.013	0.018
Education	0.017	0.030
Gender	-0.029	0.077

Multiple R^2 for Job Satisfaction Equation	-0.018
Overall F for Job Satisfaction Equation	0.323

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*p<0.10 **p<0.05

Statistically significant regressions included the type of publication in relation to organizational commitment, a result which was also indicated by the t-tests in Table 7. Occupational ideology was significantly and negatively related to job satisfaction, but only when the McLeod-Hawley scale was used to define occupational ideology. When self-identification as a professional was used as the definition of occupational ideology, only the regression with organizational commitment as the dependent variable was statistically significant; the statistical significance resulted from the presence of the "type" variable.

The answer to the first research question, therefore, is that the only significant effect of occupational ideology occurred in the McLeod-Hawley scale-based analysis, where higher identification with occupational ideology resulted in lower job satisfaction. Thus, occupational ideology only affects job satisfaction and not organizational commitment, and only does so when the adoption of occupational ideology is tested using the McLeod-Hawley scale.

As suggested by the second research question, there are some differences in this effect depending on the type of organization. Workers at alternative newspapers displayed higher organizational commitment than those at mainstream newspapers, no matter which definition of occupational ideology was used. However, no significant differences in job satisfaction levels were observed.

In all cases, however, the R^2 figures were quite low, ranging from .0018 to .0027. This suggests, even though all four regression equations were significant, that very little of the variation in job satisfaction or organizational commitment is being explained by the independent variables. This suggestion is borne out by the lack of significant effects of the controls; the only significant control variable (other than the variable representing occupational ideology) was the one representing the type of newspaper, which related positively and significantly to organizational commitment. Thus, most of the variation in job satisfaction and organizational commitment is caused by other factors not accounted for by these data.

The regression based on self-identification as a professional should be viewed with some caution, since in the entire sample there were very few respondents who did not identify themselves as professionals (10 mainstream, 9 alternative). In regression analyses using dummy variables, at least 10 observations for every independent variable are needed for the resulting equation to be meaningful (Parasuraman, 1986). Therefore, the results of this particular analysis should not be considered definitive.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

The purposes of this study were 1) to investigate whether the adoption of professional standards as personal ideology affected job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and 2) to determine whether the strength of this effect differed between workers at different types of organizations. This chapter discusses the results and implications of the data analysis for each question.

Determining Professional Standards

The analysis of the effects of ideology on job satisfaction and organizational commitment resulted in a number of interesting observations. The first step in the analysis was to determine what relevant professional standards existed in the semi-profession studied. The results of this initial step indicated that there was no strong and consistent professional ideology in the semi-profession studied. The respondents did not strongly support the standardized set of professional standards represented by the McLeod-Hawley scale, and varied somewhat on their own definitions of the standards for their profession. Despite this, however, the majority of respondents identified themselves as professionals and as members of a profession.

This result may perhaps be partially due to the occupation-specific nature of the test instrument itself. The McLeod-Hawley scale was developed in 1963, when working conditions for journalists were quite different than they are today; there were still many independent newspapers operating in the United States, many cities had competing morning and afternoon daily newspapers, and production technology was more time- and labour-intensive. Newspapers were also fairly secure in their position as providers of information, as television was not a competitive force nor a major source of news for most adults (Schudson, 1978).

The McLeod-Hawley scale represents professional values that are still widely accepted in the news industry, such as the willingness to protect sources and the right of journalists to participate in determining news content and policies; however, other issues the scale tests, such as certification, may now be less relevant. Thus, the issues tested by the McLeod-Hawley scale may not be pivotal in determining journalists' degree of involvement with their occupation or their adoption of a professional ideology.

An additional point about the applicability of the McLeod-Hawley scale was made by many respondents in the questionnaire's open-ended questions. The issues of certification of journalists or policing of wrongdoers may be irrelevant depending on one's interpretation of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The First Amendment states:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Many respondents expressed the opinion that any form of official certification administered by a government-created institution, even if controlled by journalists themselves, would infringe on the First Amendment by restricting access to the profession and thereby the freedom to participate in journalism. The existence of such an institution might also give government the power (directly or indirectly) to punish or decertify journalists who expressed controversial views, thereby depriving them of the ability to practice their profession. Since the McLeod-Hawley scale was developed, there have been many cases of journalists harassed by the United States government for their writing (Rips, 1981), so it is certainly not inconceivable that a licensing agency for journalists could be used to silence or discredit dissenting voices.

Despite constitutional issues around the question of certification, however, the McLeod-Hawley scale is still useful as a test for the adoption of professional attitudes and ideology in this particular occupation. The "professional orientation" part of the scale is valuable for testing the degree to which individuals desire their work to have the trappings of "professional" work: autonomy, personal development, use of skills, authority, and influence. Correlational analysis showed that, overall, the "professional orientation" scale was significantly and negatively related to organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Thus, the sample used in this study appears to associate professional attitudes and the ideology they represent with lower job satisfaction and organizational commitment. This sample may not be interested in belonging to a structured profession with a formal professional ideology, if they feel that such a structure would curtail their ability to freely perform their work.

Despite this apparent resistance to professional ideology, however, a high level of self-identification as professionals was present. While these respondents may not want to be part of a profession that has licensing, educational requirements, and regulatory bodies, 92% of all respondents nevertheless consider themselves professionals. This indicates that professionalism perhaps needs to be conceptualized in ways other than that of membership in a regulated occupation. Two of the three schools of thought on professions discussed previously - "core characteristics" and "power" - all assume to some degree that professions use formal structure and formal restrictions to define themselves. The third school, the phenomenological school, defines professionalism on the basis of how its members use the term "professional". This third definition fits with the results of this study, but does not acknowledge that even within loosely defined semi-professions there may be professional standards that are transmitted in formal or informal ways.

The results of this study suggest that there may be yet another kind of profession, perhaps best described as a socially constructed profession: where there are no formal requirements for membership but there is nevertheless common understanding, passed on through training, experience and interactions, of how the job is done correctly. Socialization would play a large part in indoctrination and successful participation in such an occupation, perhaps a larger part than in less cohesive or well-established occupations. Support for this idea is found in Endres' (1985) study of journalists' socialization, which found that journalists cited their own experience and colleagues' behaviours as the second and third strongest influence on their own journalistic ethics (after parents and home life). Further, it is possible that there are informal enforcement mechanisms for workers who violate these behavioural norms, such as refusing to share information with transgressors, avoiding interaction with them, or warning other workers of the unacceptable behaviour.

It is worth noting, too, that some of the professional standards apparently held by these respondents are to some extent in opposition to that promoted by the organization. This conflict challenges the idea of organizational ideology as the ideology that is adopted by organization members who "fit". 19 of the 69 respondents who mentioned "standards" as a reason they considered themselves a professional implied or stated outright in their answers that these standards were self-imposed and equal to or higher than those promoted by the organization. It is difficult to imagine a manager who would object to employees working hard, being ethical, or producing quality material; however, it is quite possible that conflicts would arise if a worker was committed to a higher standard of behaviour than their employer required. This conflict might be expected to affect job satisfaction or organizational commitment, and, indeed, job satisfaction correlated negatively with one of the definitions of professionalism used herein.

Neither definition of professionalism used in this study, however, produced the attitudinal divisions that have been seen in previous studies of professionalism in journalism, perhaps due to the inclusion of alternative journalists in the subject pool. Schwartz (1978) found that journalists scoring high in professionalism were concerned with ambition, power, and independence, while low-scoring professionals were concerned with social responsibility. The results of these tests show almost completely opposite results. Highly professional individuals were concerned with working conditions and co-workers, were loyal to the organization, and valued originality, initiative, new skills, and personal visibility. While these final factors could be classified as demonstrations of autonomy, the crucial issues identified by Schwartz were generally not significantly different for professionals or non-professionals in this study. This result suggests that perhaps the characteristics of those considered or self-identified as professionals, as well as the substance of professionalism, have changed over time in this occupation.

The Effect of Professional Ideology as Personal Standards on Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment

The question of the role of ideology in an occupation is interesting in the abstract, but of more immediate and practical concern are the effects that ideology might have on worker attitudes, which, as shown in earlier research, may affect productivity and well-being. Testing whether the ideology represented by professional standards related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment was somewhat complicated in this study by the existence of two "types" of professionalism (McLeod-Hawley scale-based and self-identified). Testing for these relationships was thus conducted using both "types". In both classifications, however, there was no relationship between ideology and organizational commitment. The respondent's status as an alternative or mainstream journalist was more significant in determining levels of organizational commitment than was ideology. Job satisfaction was not affected by the status of the journalist, but was affected by ideology as measured by the McLeod-Hawley scale; in this case, the relationship was negative. Job satisfaction was not affected by ideology when ideology was operationalized by the respondent's self-identification as a professional.

To understand this negative relationship between one form of ideology and job satisfaction, it is helpful to examine McLeod and Hawley's original conceptualization of professionalism. These authors suggested that "the attitudes of the more professionally oriented newsman [sic]...would be more critical of the newspaper for which they work" (p. 530). A high score on the McLeod-Hawley scale, as employed in this analysis, requires placing a high value on skill utilization and development, originality, influencing the public, freedom from supervision, and influencing decisions. High scorers would also favour the establishment of a professional organization for journalists. Obviously, valuing these qualities presents much potential for conflict with the organization. Any organization which wishes to exercise control and direction over its workers will have difficulty with an employee who places a high value on originality and autonomy. Hall (1986) notes that organizations pose a threat to professional workers because organizations, like professions, attempt to control the internal distribution of knowledge.

Likewise, the definition of "professionally oriented" that McLeod and Hawley provide almost guarantees conflict with the organization, or the organization's idea of how the job should be conducted, since this definition includes criticism of the organization as a quality of professionalism. It is quite likely that workers with a strong belief in the standards of their occupation, and supportive of established standards of behaviour, would experience dissatisfaction with their jobs if the organization does not allow them to do their work in the way which they believe is proper.

The influence of the organization is also clearly shown in comments that were given in response to the final open-ended question in the questionnare (Appendix V), and the results of the interviews (Appendix II). These suggest that the current workplace climate in American newspapers, both alternative and mainstream, is not conducive to the values associated with professional work in journalism. Workers speak of low pay, of overwork, of insensitive and inflexible management, of organizations driven solely by business concerns. In such an atmosphere, individual concerns such as personal development, autonomy, and career progression may not receive much attention from the organization, and jobs may not be designed or administered with these concerns in mind. The idea of a structured profession may then become more attractive in such conditions because it offers a means to address these issues ignored by the organization. Thus, high attachment to a profession may translate into lower job satisfaction simply because the organization is not addressing the workers' needs or concerns, and professionalization becomes a way to resolve this situation.

Given this situation, it is somewhat surprising that the effects of ideology were quite weak generally - for example, that self-identification as a professional did not significantly relate to job satisfaction, or that ideology did not affect organizational commitment. Thus, the question arises: if ideology does not strongly affect either job satisfaction or organizational commitment, what does? While no immediate answers arise from the results at hand, some possibilities are suggested by the original data.

If organizational commitment and job satisfaction are low, ideology and other factors may not be influential because workers are not interested in doing their jobs differently; they simply may not want to do them. The means for alternative journalists on the organizational commitment scale were 4.972 (on a scale of 1 to 7) and 3.722 on the job satisfaction scale, and, for mainstream journalists, means of 4.515 on the organizational commitment scale and 3.807 on the job satisfaction scale. Other evidence previously cited (e.g. Wilhoit and Weaver, 1991; Pease, 1992) indicates that overall levels of job satisfaction in the newspaper industry are both declining and relatively low in comparison to other occupations. If this is indeed the case, then ideology may not be seen as a means to enhance working life, and little else may be influential except, perhaps, external opportunities, as suggested by Carsten and Spector (1987).

Ideology's lack of effect on organizational commitment is particularly intriguing in view of Becker's (1992) discussion of multiple commitments. Becker's research suggests that outside commitments would affect commitment to the organization. Becker, Sobowale and Cobbey's (1979) findings suggested the existence of this dual commitment, but distinguished between professional sentiments - agreement with principles of a profession - and professional commitment. It is not clear which of these is manifested by this group of respondents, since respondents identifying themselves as professionals were still committed to their organizations. It may be that only in formalized professions does a clear division of commitment occur. When there is no requirement that individuals commit themselves to an ideology external to the organization, there may be no reason for workers to feel a primary commitment to anything other than the organization.

Even so, the data suggest that there may be some conflicting commitments within this group of respondents. Seven of the 13 interviewees mentioned that they felt more committed to journalism than to their organizations, although the majority added the provision that this was because their organization gave them the freedom to practice journalism in a satisfactory manner. Additionally, when respondents gave reasons for identifying themselves as members of a profession or considering journalism a profession, the importance of the work to the public or society was one of the most frequently cited reasons. Therefore, there may not only be a commitment to journalism as a profession but also to journalism as public service - both commitments which could possibly result in conflict with the organization or reduced organizational commitment.

One factor that was untested in this study, and which would be applicable to many other occupations, is the effect of interactions with workers at other organizations. Although mainstream and alternative newspapers certainly have different perspectives on news, they often cover the same news events and thus journalists are generally familiar with, and even social with, "the competition". In the interviews with alternative journalists, all the subjects were more than willing to talk about the other newspapers in their areas, telling scathing and often hilarious stories about the working conditions there, and appeared to be well-informed about events in other news organizations. It is quite possible that job satisfaction and organizational commitment might be strengthened or weakened depending on perceptions of what happens to workers in similar situations at other organizations.

Differing Effects of Ideology among Workers at Different Types of Organizations

Since ideology did not have a strong effect on either organizational commitment or job satisfaction, it is difficult to discuss with much confidence the differences in the effects of ideology between workers at different types of organizations. However, the results indicate that there were some differences present. Alternative journalists were more strongly committed to their organizations under both definitions of ideology; there were no differences in job satisfaction related to the type of organization. Thus, organizational ideology appears to have some effect on organizational commitment but not on job satisfaction.

This result should, though, be considered in light of another finding: that alternative journalists were less likely to identify themselves as members of a profession than were mainstream journalists (Table 12). Some interaction between personal and organizational ideology may be affecting the results. One group of respondents was as likely as the other group to consider themselves professionals, but less likely to consider themselves members of a profession; however, this same group displayed higher organizational commitment.

It may be that different organizations allow individuals varying degrees of autonomy in their work, which may then result in differing degrees of identification with the organization and with the work itself. Herman and Chomsky (1990) identify a willingness to challenge official sources as one of the factors distinguishing the alternative press from the mainstream press. This suggests that journalists at alternative newspapers may have more freedom and creativity in their work than journalists at mainstream newspapers, even though both are performing the same type of job. Thus, alternative journalists may be more committed to their organizations because they feel they are supported by their organizations in challenging and perhaps dangerous work, but less willing to identify themselves as members of a profession because they associate that profession with the structures and restrictions of the mainstream media.

The lack of difference between mainstream and alternative journalists in the effects of ideology on job satisfaction, however, is more puzzling. As mentioned previously, if job satisfaction is generally low, workplace factors may not have significant effects if all the worker wants to do is leave. While the interview data indicate that alternative journalists are well aware of working conditions at mainstream newspapers and are generally grateful they are not in that type of work environment, interview and questionnaire data also indicate that low pay is a constant complaint among alternative journalists. This may balance out any positive feelings about the job generated by comparison with mainstream journalists. The lack of difference between the two groups' results may also indicate that there is more similarity than difference in this particular type of work, despite the fact that the work is being conducted in different organizations.

Drawing conclusions about the effect of the organization in the relationship of ideology to job satisfaction and organizational commitment is difficult given these data and, indeed, the issue itself. The potential number of factors at work at the personal, occupational, and organizational levels is so great that identifying powerful factors with any certainty may be well near impossible. However, these results indicate that, at minimum, the type of organization may affect the relationship between the worker's ideology and the worker's commitment to the organization. This follows such earlier results as Lee and Mowday's (1987) finding that organizational characteristics affect organizational commitment.

Limitations of the Study

The results of this study are not strong enough to determine conclusively if ideology affects job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Some limitations of the study as it was structured may be responsible for these weak results, and suggest refinements that would strengthen future studies of this sort.

First, it must be noted that the sample in this study was a self-selecting sample. The respondents were those potential subjects interested enough to respond to an interview request or to fill out and return a questionnaire. It is entirely possible that there is a large population of journalists who do not identify themselves as professionals, but who did not bother to return the questionnaire or were not selected as potential interview subjects. Ideally, a an ideology-work attitude relationship would be studied in a controlled group such as all the employees of a particular organization or all the members of a particular special interest group - and, even more ideally, a group in which all the members would be willing to participate to the fullest extent in the study. In this way, consistency among subjects could be ensured (based on place of employment or group membership), and some variation in ideology, commitment and satisfaction could be expected as long as employment or group membership did not demand adherence to a uniform ideology. The self-selecting nature of the sample in this study must be considered in assessing the convoluted relationship between ideology and work-related attitudes.

Secondly, ideology should be defined as accurately as possible in relation to the sample and the type of work studied. The original results from the McLeod-Hawley scale used to test one type of professional ideology in this study indicate that, for this particular profession, this particular scale may be somewhat less than reflective of current working conditions. It would be important to use or develop a scale that took into account the characteristics of the particular occupation or organization. However, it would be equally important to allow for the possibility of an informal ideology that operates in place of, or along with, a formally expressed ideology.

The open-ended questions in this study attempted to allow for this possibility, but they had the disadvantage of being unstructured questions. The existence of informally recognized qualities of professionalism was an extremely interesting finding, but it was not possible to pursue this finding further because of its emergence from the results of open-ended, optional questions; not all respondents answered the question or provided reasons for their answers, which made meaningful analysis difficult. Ideally, follow-up interviews or questionnaires could be used to explore similar phenomena, through more structured questions designed to elicit further information on previously unexplored areas. Of course, the cost of follow-ups and the issue of confidentiality (particularly if initial respondents were assured that their questionnaire responses would be treated as anonymous) might make further contacts problematic.

Finally, comparison of any ideology-satisfaction-commitment relationships across occupations or organizations might shed greater light upon these linkages. This study contrasted two reasonably distinct groups within the same occupation; conducting similar tests on groups with greater or more obvious differences (demographic, occupational, or ideological) might highlight the role of ideology in satisfaction and commitment by identifying factors that make it influential or vary the level of its influence. While alternative and mainstream journalists are distinct in many of their beliefs and qualities, they are also similar in the type of work they do. And, despite the differences between mainstream and alternative newspapers, there are also some basic similarities; for example, both are dedicated to producing a newspaper of some kind. Selecting subjects that are strongly differentiated on either personal or workaplce factors - ideally with enough identifiable similarities that can be controlled in analysis - would make the effects of ideology on attitudes more obvious. Contrasting groups with different sources of diversity would also show if or how ideology's effects vary based on the presence or absence of particular factors.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Correlations Between Items of Scales Used in Questionnaire

Correlations Between Items in the Organizational Commitment Scale
(Questions 10-24 in Questionnaire)

Item Number	10	11	12	13	14	15	17	18	19	20
10	-									
11	.558	-								
12	.337	.502	-							
13	.235	.356	.125	-						
14	.464	.711	.443	.239	-					
15	.546	.739	.548	.279	.213	-				
17	.485	.701	.439	.280	.617	.592	-			
18	.358	.481	.415	.245	.417	.474	.451	-		
19	.382	.583	.438	.218	.516	.653	.551	.467	-	
20	.323	.513	.401	.195	.436	.484	.485	.567	.472	-
21	.319	.596	.429	.172	.579	.493	.482	.416	.336	.515
22	.429	.527	.414	.218	.497	.572	.408	.482	.524	.361
23	.434	.656	.413	.380	.596	.609	.636	.459	.607	.572
24	.413	.557	.460	.139	.494	.647	.528	.480	.588	.428

(cont'd)

Item Number	21	22	23	24
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21	-			
22	.290	-		
23	.516	.482	-	
24	.351	.551	.499	-

r>.131, p<0.05; r>.181, p<0.01.
n=219 (28 cases deleted with missing values).

Correlations Between Items in the Job Satisfaction Scale
(Questions 25-44 in Questionnaire)

Item Number	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
25	-								
26	.286	-							
27	.189	.363	-						
28	.269	.164	.235	-					
29	.132	.186	.164	.157	-				
30	.150	.193	.200	.134	.787	-			
31	.129	.264	.213	.264	.338	.370	-		
32	.138	.141	.084	.164	.171	.192	.185	-	
33	.302	.215	.239	.375	.196	.195	.205	.168	-
34	.149	.060	.073	.332	.095	.121	.147	-.028	.359
35	.298	.248	.403	.349	.251	.314	.292	.183	.355
36	.170	.087	.098	.179	.466	.460	.390	.291	.244
37	.132	.037	.040	.041	.231	.196	.141	.396	.029
38	.220	.209	.197	.286	.371	.391	.309	.392	.248
39	.188	.329	.361	.217	.224	.229	.442	.145	.331
40	.240	.375	.448	.289	.348	.348	.421	.311	.277
41	.164	.174	.181	.101	.337	.356	.258	.268	.125
43	.167	.176	.165	.287	.537	.492	.329	.169	.191
44	.257	.220	.313	.346	.262	.369	.334	.090	.314

(cont'd)

Item Number	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	43	44
25										
26										
27										
28										
29										
30										
31										
32										
33										
34	-									
35	.286	-								
36	.196	.319	-							
37	.018	.213	.388	-						
38	.173	.392	.474	.531	-					
39	.287	.465	.318	.098	.289	-				
40	.277	.465	.386	.159	.385	.792	-			
41	.086	.239	.526	.312	.424	.314	.422	-		
43	.133	.268	.434	.199	.410	.261	.326	.381	-	
44	.189	.499	.285	.053	.367	.417	.497	.347	.426	-

r>.131, p<0.05; r>.181, p<0.01.
n=196 (51 cases deleted with missing values).

Correlations Between Items in the Professional Orientation Scale

(Questions 45-55 in Questionnaire)

Item Number	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
45	-										
46	.328	-									
47	.302	.385	-								
48	.118	.030	.161	-							
49	.288	.086	.100	.378	-						
50	.281	.202	.249	.037	.329	-					
51	.172	.245	.302	.148	.268	.398	-				
52	.113	.183	.215	.090	.268	.540	.453	-			
53	.146	.225	.076	-.005	.108	.128	.146	.240	-		
54	.185	.201	.266	.038	.267	.460	.349	.698	.335	-	
55	.276	.248	.219	.064	.218	.334	.351	.264	.325	.450	-

$r > .131$, $p < 0.05$; $r > .181$, $p < 0.01$.
n=242 (5 cases deleted with missing values).

Correlations Between Items in the Professional Implementation Scale
(Questions 66-68 in Questionnaire)

Item Number	66	67	68
66	-		
67	.533	-	
68	.476	.453	-

---

r>.131, p<0.05; r>.181, p<0.01.
n=238 (9 cases deleted with missing values).

APPENDIX II

Interview Summary Form and Interview Analysis

INTERVIEW SUMMARY FORM

Contact With:

Site:

Contact Date:

What were the main issues or themes that were striking in this contact?

Summarize the information (or lack thereof) on each of the general questions for this contact.

Question	Information

Anything else that was salient, interesting, illuminating, or important?

Interview Analysis

13 interviews were conducted with journalists working at alternative newspapers. The results of these interviews were surprisingly consistent in terms of significant issues and feelings about the organization - results which were similar to those in the quantitative data analysis.

The 13 interviewees ranged in age from 24 to 54; six were men and seven were women. They came to their current jobs with a wide variety of education and employment experience. Only three had completed a degree in journalism. Other education included an MA in criminology, an MA in English, a college degree in radio/TV journalism, a generalist BA, an MA in art history, and a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering. Two interviewees were in the process of finishing BAs.

Half of the interviewees had worked at mainstream newspapers and in other print media such as book publishing or magazines before coming to the alternative press. Others had worked in public relations, in radio, and as freelance writers. One had been the receptionist at the newspaper on an interim basis and decided to write full-time after getting to know the business through "working the phones - I got to talk to everyone and be liked". Although two of the interviewees said they had chosen their current jobs because there were no other employment alternatives available, and four ended up at their papers through a variety of circumstances and not conscious choice, seven of the interviewees expressed some variation on the theme of deliberately choosing to work in the alternative press.

> *"I read [the paper] every week and I found that it reflected my views."*
>
> *"[The paper] had very high expectations and a very clear focus on what it wanted to do - it didn't cover news that you could get somewhere else."*
>
> *"I liked the idea [of working at the paper] because I thought it might be more creative, rather than grinding it out at a daily newspaper."*

The interviewees had been employed at their newspapers from periods ranging from four months to seven years. Three had started at their papers as interns or temporary staff and had taken on permanent work when it became available. Two others had worked at their papers sporadically, leaving to pursue other opportunities and then returning to their jobs. When asked to describe their feelings about their organizations, only two interviewees responded negatively. The other interviewees all had complaints about various aspects of their organizations, but qualified these by expressing general satisfaction, especially in comparison with conditions they observed at other, usually mainstream, newspapers, or from their previous media experience.

> *"If I went over to [the two mainstream daily newspapers in the area] I would be doing a lot of things but I probably wouldn't want to do them."*

> *"[In the previous job at a mainstream newspaper] I was working in the same office covering events in the same place, and covering a very narrow area."*

> *"I did an internship [at another local paper] and everyone treated me like shit. They take themselves so seriously."*

> *"At [the mainstream newspaper] I didn't, and I don't think that, you get quite the same freedom to just kind of go out and try to get the story. You become one of their exalted old 50-year-old guys who's married and probably not that interested in going out there anyway."*

Despite the general satisfaction with organizations, every single interviewee identified pay as a problem area. Pay was low compared to what they could be making at other media organizations or in other professions, or pay was low in relation to the amount of work they did, or, in one case, pay was too low to even meet basic living expenses (by this interviewee's estimate, $200 a month short of the amount needed to cover rent, food, utilities, and other essentials).

> *"Because we are a small newspaper there's a lot of work for a small department...Financially, I wish there was more money."*

> *"I would think that I'd be able to continue writing here but...even full-time the money's not that attractive and there are no benefits. There's the opportunity to buy health insurance but it would take, um, the best I can figure it would take 20 per cent of my paycheck."*
>
> *"The downside is the money."*
>
> *"What keeps me here? The fear of being homeless."*
>
> *"I make about $16,000 a year. I asked someone the other day and for a starting job at the [local paper]'s Capitol bureau it would be about $31,000, and for a regular beat about $25,000."*

Even though pay was an issue, most of the interviewees were reluctant to leave the alternative press. They saw the alternative press as being distinct from the mainstream press, and wanted to continue writing in the alternative press. When asked if they were more committed to the organization or to their profession, seven interviewees responded that they were more committed to journalism or to writing itself (a distinction drawn by three interviewees), four were divided in their commitments, and two felt more committed to the organization. However, the majority of those who felt more committed to journalism or writing mentioned that working at their particular organization gave them the freedom to write and explore different topics and styles, which they might not have at another organization even if they were employed as writers.

"My primary commitment is to fiction writing, but I feel committed to [the newspaper] in terms of what [the newspaper] does and what it allows me to do. I mean, I think it really is unusual to have such a big main story to really explore things, and you generally don't have that kind of space."

"That's still always been one of my main philosophies about journalism - put yourself in the reader's shoes and that - the readers want to know, as far as entertainment goes, they want to know what their options are. That's one thing that I still do feel is good about [the newspaper]....they have remained true to the ideal of providing good arts and entertainment coverage. And that is something we are very strong on, and I'm really proud to be part of that."

"The higher goal is journalism, to write the truth as you find it. You have to be open to what you find. There is strong support for that here. I think I am now more committed to the higher goal."

"I like journalism. I like following politicians and writing about politicians. I'm still growing as a writer. Here, you can take a position. You can argue from a point of view and say that something is BS. You can go after it instead of just reporting. You can say why something is and then prove it."

"I'm not just doing one thing and so as a result I get to cover all sorts of interesting, weird, tough, difficult stories, a different combination, and get to try different writing styles to tell it. And as a result my writing style has improved tremendously since working here through that kind of variety."

> *"It's neat to have a story and then to have your boss go through the roof about it. I get excited about stories very fast, and I could learn to dig more. I still have a lot to learn. But I'm committed to opposing, though, and journalism is a form of opposition."*

When asked for their views on whether journalism was a profession or not, the respondents offered varying opinions. Six felt that journalism was a profession, but qualified their opinions by adding that journalism was not a profession like other, more established professions. Three were undecided. Two stated that journalism was a craft or a trade, rather than a profession. Two felt that they were more professional writers and that the designation of journalists as professionals or not was meaningless to them.

Among the six journalists who felt that journalism was, indeed, a profession, there were varying opinions of what made journalism, or journalists, worthy of that designation.

> *"I don't try to think of myself on some sort of ego trip, like what I say goes...I don't want to do that, and I don't want to think like that because I think it's pompous."*
>
> *"You do something and you get paid for it. I've been doing journalism and getting paid for it for more than 20 years now."*
>
> *"Why? Experience, logging column inches, keeping up to the pace. [The editor] has very high standards."*

> *"I slid into news. It was never my intention to be a journalist, so when people ask me what I do for a living, I have to stop and think. I don't want to say reporter because the title seems too big for someone who never - I must have taken a journalism course in college because I found my transcripts lately and there it was. And I did pretty well in it, I was kind of surprised because I don't remember taking it....I talk frivolously but when I sit down to write something I'm dead serious about what I'm doing. Because you could ruin someone's life. And you could mislead people, you could do terrible damage if you don't take it seriously enough."*

> *"I have joked about j-school being like welding college. Once you know how to do it, it's not that difficult, and it's not like something you have to take in order to know how to do it. It's a serious profession, it's a career. You look up to reporters. I tell people what I do and they go 'wow'. I don't quite know what they think of it, but I feel lucky that I'm not [doing something else]."*

> *"My husband, who is an attorney, would say it is not a profession at all...If you're looking at the strict definition, you know, you have doctors and lawyers and all these other types that go under this profession category, and I think that's a bunch of bullshit. Is it something that you can do without finishing high school? No, so I certainly don't see it as a trade. It's a career; you have to have it in your blood to want to keep doing that kind of writing."*

Interestingly, of those respondents who were unsure of journalism's professionalism or identified it as something other than a profession, some of the reasons offered were somewhat similar to those from respondents who felt journalism was a profession.

> *"People who have been journalists probably know about as much as the stuff as the people they are covering. Certainly, you wouldn't call a cub reporter on a daily a professional....I wouldn't say that someone fresh out of a law school is a professional either, and lawyers train in law, and some lawyers are better than others. The whole thing about being professional, a lot of people are professional in what they do...The reason why people don't want journalists to be called professionals is because they'd have to be paid like professionals."*
>
> *"It's almost like a class thing, I think. When I think of 'trade' I think of people who get their hands dirty, and hang around, and go to bars where fights might break out, you know, try to be in a place where most people are...I consider myself to be more like them than to be like, say, Dan Rather."*

In summary, there are several notable points from the interviews. The first is the complete dissatisfaction with pay, either in and of itself, or in relation to the amount of work or what workers with similar skills and experience could earn elsewhere. The second is the clear conceptualization, although with individual variations, of what the alternative press is and what it does differently. All the interviewees appeared to have thought at some length about their organization's purpose and mission, and how they as individuals and writers fit into those functions. And, finally, there is a wide range of opinions of journalism's professional status.

APPENDIX III

Text of Letters and Questionnaires

TEXT OF LETTER FROM FIRST MAILING

October 29, 1992

26-3320 Findlay St.
Vancouver, B.C., Canada
V5N 4E7

Mr. Clark Kent
The Daily Planet
Metropolis
USA

Dear Mr. Kent:

Journalists play an important role in society as disseminators of information. However, very little is known about journalists themselves and the attitudes they hold about their work. I am undertaking a study of American journalists in order to identify attitudes toward specific aspects of their jobs and their attitudes toward professionalization.

Your participation in this study, by completing and returning the enclosed questionnaire, would be very much appreciated. The questionnaire should take about 15 minutes of your time to complete. **All responses will be treated as completely confidential**. The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only; the number will be removed from the completed questionnaire once it is returned.

In exchange for your participation, I would be pleased to send you a summary of results when the study is complete. If you wish to receive results, please put your name and address on the back of the return envelope, or include your name and address on a separate piece of paper. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire itself.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (604) 874-8111.

Thank you for your participation.

Yours sincerely,

Fiona McQuarrie
PhD Candidate, Department of Organizational Analysis
University of Alberta

/fm
encl.

TEXT OF LETTER FROM SECOND MAILING

December 4, 1992

26-3320 Findlay St.
Vancouver, B.C., Canada
V5N 4E7

Mr. Clark Kent
The Daily Planet
Metropolis, USA

Dear Mr. Kent:

About three weeks ago, a questionnaire was sent to you as part of a study of American journalists. This study is intended to identify attitudes toward specific aspects of work and attitudes toward professionalism.

If you have returned the questionnaire, thank you for doing so. If you have not, your participation would still be valued. A representative sample of journalists was selected to receive the questionnaire, and your response will ensure that the results of the study accurately represent the views of American journalists.

A copy of the questionnaire and postage-paid return envelope are enclosed. The questionnaire should take about 15 minutes of your time to complete. **All responses will be treated as completely confidential.** The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only; the number will be removed from the completed questionnaire once it is returned.

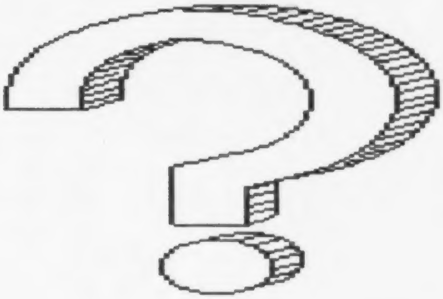
I would be pleased to send you a summary of results when the study is complete. If you wish to receive results, please put your name and address on the back of the return envelope, or enclose a piece of paper (such as this letter) with your name and address. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire itself.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (604) 874-8111.

Thank you for your participation.

Yours sincerely,

Fiona McQuarrie
PhD Candidate, Department of Organizational Analysis
University of Alberta
/fm
encl.



ATTITUDES OF JOURNALISTS IN THE NORTH AMERICAN PRESS

A Study Conducted by Fiona McQuarrie of the Faculty of Business, University of Alberta

Newspapers have been a part of North American society for hundreds of years. Yet very little is known about the work-related attitudes of print journalists like yourself. This survey is designed to gather information on you and your feelings about your work. If you wish to comment on any questions or qualify your answer, please use the margins or a separate sheet of paper. Your comments will be read and taken into account.

Thank you for your participation.

First we would like to ask some questions about you and your current employment.

1) What is your current job title? ______________________________

2) How long have you worked for your present employer?

________ years

3) Including your present job, how many years of experience in journalism do you have?

_______ years

4) What is your highest level of formal education?

- __ Grade Eight or less
- __ some high school
- __ completed high school
- __ completed college
- __ completed technical school
- __ completed undergraduate degree
- __ completed master's degree
- __ completed PhD
- __ other (please specify) ________________________

5) What is your year of birth? ___________

6) Are you: _____ male ______ female

7) How many years of formal education in journalism do you have?

_____ years

8) What are your current job duties?

____

____

____

9) What percentage of your time at work do you spend:

_____ writing
_____ editing
_____ administration
____ interviewing or researching
____ layout or production
____ other (please specify)

Now we would like to find out how you feel about the organization you work for. Listed below are a series of statements that represent possible feelings that individuals might have about the company or organization for which they work. With respect to your own feelings about the particular organization for which you are now working, please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling one of the seven numbers next to each statement.

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
10) I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this organization be successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11) I talk up this organization to my friends as a great organization to work for.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12) I feel very little loyalty to this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13) I would accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14) I find that my values and this organization's values are very similar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15) I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
16) I could just as well be working for a different organization as long as the type of work was similar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17) This organization really inspires the very best in me in the way of job performance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18) It would take very little change in my present circumstances to cause me to leave this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19) I am extremely glad that I chose this organization to work for over others I was considering at the time I joined.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20) There's not too much to be gained by sticking with this organization indefinitely.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21) Often I find it difficult to agree with this organization's policies on important matters relating to its employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22) I really care about the fate of this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
23) For me this is the best of all possible organizations for which to work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24) Deciding to work for this organization was a definite mistake on my part.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The next set of questions deals with how you feel about various aspects of the job itself. Decide how satisfied you feel about the aspects of your job described by the following statements. Please indicate your level of satisfaction with each aspect by circling the appropriate number next to each statement.

	Very Dissatisfied				Very Satisfied
25) Being able to keep busy all the time	1	2	3	4	5
26) The chance to work alone on the job	1	2	3	4	5
27) The chance to do different things from time to time	1	2	3	4	5
28) The chance to be "somebody" in the community	1	2	3	4	5
29) The way my supervisor handles subordinates	1	2	3	4	5
30) The competence of my supervisor in making decisions	1	2	3	4	5
31) Being able to do things that don't go against my conscience	1	2	3	4	5

	Very Dissatisfied				Very Satisfied
32) The way my job provides for steady employment	1	2	3	4	5
33) The chance to do things for other people	1	2	3	4	5
34) The chance to tell people what to do	1	2	3	4	5
35) The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities	1	2	3	4	5
36) The way company policies are put into practice	1	2	3	4	5
37) My pay and the amount of work I do	1	2	3	4	5
38) The chances for advancement on this job	1	2	3	4	5
39) The freedom to use my own judgement	1	2	3	4	5
40) The chance to try my own methods of doing the job	1	2	3	4	5
41) The working conditions	1	2	3	4	5
42) The way my co-workers get along with each other	1	2	3	4	5
43) The praise I get for doing a good job	1	2	3	4	5
44) The feeling of accomplishment I get from the job	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions deal with what you consider to be important in your work. People look for different things in their occupations which make their work satisfying. Below are some job characteristics that can be applied to most occupations. We would like to know how important they are to you in any job. For each, is it (a) extremely important, (b) quite important, (c) somewhat important, or (d) not important?

	Extremely Important			Not Important
45) Full use of abilities and training	1	2	3	4
46) Opportunity for originality and initiative	1	2	3	4
47) Opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge	1	2	3	4
48) Getting ahead in a professional career	1	2	3	4
49) Having a job with a paper that is known and respected by journalists	1	2	3	4
50) Having a job that is valuable and essential to the community	1	2	3	4
51) Respect for the ability and competence of co-workers	1	2	3	4
52) Opportunity to have an influence on the public's thinking	1	2	3	4
53) Freedom from close supervision over work	1	2	3	4
54) Having an influence on important decisions	1	2	3	4

55) A job that makes the organization different in some ways because I work for it 1 2 3 4

Next, we would like to know the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree
56) Journalists should be willing to go to jail to protect their sources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57) Emphasis on the five W's in the lead is overdone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58) It is all right to take promotional or informational junkets sponsored by business organizations or government agencies if there are no strings attached	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59) A journalist should not continue to work for a newspaper if s/he disagrees with its editorial policy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60) A college education should be mandatory for beginning journalists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61) For the working journalist, there should be required and periodic institutes or refresher courses at a nearby institute, e.g. courses in economics or political science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree
62) In early journalism training it is more important to learn how to write than how to get the story	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63) There should be greater intellectual specialization in journalism, e.g. science, government, economics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64) Journalists as a group have a legitimate claim to help determine news column content and policies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65) It is the duty of the newspaper to its stockholders to do more than break even, even at the expense of cutting back the news function	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66) Professions such as law and medicine have developed organizations to uphold professional standards. Journalists themselves should form an organization to deal with problems that come up, and to police the profession	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree
67) If a member of a professional journalism organization commits an unprofessional action (e.g. takes a bribe), s/he should be disciplined by the professional organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
68) A journalist should be certified by a professional organization as to qualifications, training, and competence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Finally, we would like to ask how you feel about journalism as a profession.

69) Do you consider journalism a profession? ____ yes ___ no
Why or why not?

____
____
____

70) Do you consider yourself a member of a profession? ___ yes ___no
Why or why not?

____
____
____

71) Do you consider yourself a professional? ___ yes ___no
Why or why not?

____
____
____

Please feel free to add comments or information on any of the questions in this questionnaire or related matters.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX IV

Breakdown of Response Rate

Distribution of Questionnaires at Alternative Newspapers

Name	Location	Circulation**	# of Questionnaires Sent	# of Responses
Athens News	Athens, OH	17,500	3	3
Austin Chronicle	Austin, TX	+70,000	9	4
Baltimore City Paper	Baltimore, MD	91,000	3	3
Boston Phoenix	Boston, MA	+128,000	5	2
Casco Bay Weekly	Portland, ME	24,500	3	3
Chicago Reader	Chicago, IL	131,000	9	5
Chico News & Review	Chico, CA	44,000	5	4
City Newspaper*	Rochester, NY	18,500	1	0
City Pages	Minneapolis, MN	100,000	1	1
Coast Weekly	Seaside, CA	40,000	3	3
Columbus Alive!	Columbus, OH	+42,500	3	2
Dallas Observer	Dallas, TX	85,000	10	4
East Bay Express*	Berkeley, CA	68,000	2	1
Easy Reader	Hermosa Beach, CA	60,000	2	1
Fairfield County Advocate	Westport, CT	39,700	3	3
Gambit	New Orleans, LA	37,000	3	1
Green Line	Asheville, NC	21,000	1	1
Hartford Advocate*	Hartford, CT	54,810	3	2
Houston Press	Houston, TX	65,000	3	2
Illinois Times	Springfield, IL	30,000	4	4
The Independent	Durham, NC	50,000	6	6
In Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh, PA	45,000	3	1
Isthmus	Madison, WI	57,000	8	5
Ithaca Times*	Ithaca, NY	20,037	1	1
L.A. Weekly	Los Angeles, CA	170,000	15	6
Los Angeles Reader	Los Angeles, CA	80,000	2	1
Maine Times	Topsham, ME	21,580	4	3
The Memphis Flyer	Memphis, TN	40,000	5	1
Metro	San Jose, CA	70,000	4	2
Metroland*	Albany, NY	30,000	5	3
Metro Times	Detroit, MI	90,000	2	0
Miami New Times	Miami, FL	85,000	7	5
Nashville Scene	Nashville, TN	50,000	5	4
New City	Chicago, IL	+50,000	1	1
New Haven Advocate	New Haven, CT	44,486	4	3
New Times	Phoenix, AZ	140,000	12	6
New Times	San Luis Obispo, CA	34,000	5	2
New York Press	New York, NY	75,000	2	1
NUVO Newsweekly	Indianapolis, IN	30,000	2	2
Oklahoma Gazette	Oklahoma City, OK	+35,000	4	4
Pacific Sun	Mill Valley, CA	31,000	3	2
Palo Alto Weekly*	Palo Alto, CA	45,500	6	5
The Paper	Santa Rosa, CA	5,500	1	0

(cont'd)

Name	Location	Circulation**	# of Questionnaires Sent	# of Responses
Phoenix's NewPaper*	Providence, RI	+40,000	2	0
Philadelphia City Paper	Philadelphia, PA	67,000	3	1
Philadelphia Welcomat	Philadelphia, PA	70,000	5	1
Pitch	Kansas City, MO	30,000	2	2
Random Lengths	San Pedro, CA	+30,000	3	0
Riverfront Times	St. Louis, MO	100,000	5	2
SF Weekly*	San Francisco, CA	60,000	4	2
Sacramento News & Review	Sacramento, CA	66,442	6	2
San Antonio Current	San Antonio, TX	+40,000	1	0
San Diego Reader	San Diego, CA	132,000	1	1
San Francisco Bay Guardian*	San Francisco, CA	100,000	10	2
Santa Barbara Independent	Santa Barbara, CA	50,000	3	1
Santa Fe Reporter	Santa Fe, NM	23,000	3	1
Seattle Weekly/ Eastsideweek	Seattle, WA	55,000	10	8
Shepherd Express	Milwaukee, WI	32,500	4	2
Spectrum Weekly	Little Rock, AR	20,000	2	0
Suttertown News	Sacramento, CA	29,000	4	0
Syracuse New Times*	Syracuse, NY	45,000	2	2
The Texas Observer	Austin, TX	+8,142	2	2
Times of Acadiana	Lafayette, LA	32,500	4	4
Tuscon Weekly	Tuscon, AZ	34,000	3	2
Valley Advocate	Hatfield, MA	28,526	3	2
Vermont Times	Shelburne, VT	42,000	4	2
Washington City Paper	Washington, DC	82,500	5	1
Westword	Denver, CO	105,000	6	2
Willamette Week	Portland, OR	60,000	6	4
Worcester Magazine*	Worcester, MA	35,000	2	0
TOTAL			288	158

TOTAL RESPONSE RATE FOR ALTERNATIVE NEWSPAPERS: 55.8%
(excluding 1 refusal and 2 undeliverables)

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*Interviews also conducted at these locations.

**Circulation figures are from The Alternatives, America's Urban Newsweeklies: The Media Choice for the 1990s Ratebook and Directory (St. Louis, MO: Association of Alternative Newsweeklies, 1992). Circulation figures marked with + have not been audited in-house or by an external agency. The AAN estimates that each issue of an alternative newspaper has 2.5 readers per copy, so actual readership may be higher than the figures given. Newspapers listed in the 1992 AAN ratebook which could not be contacted or which refused to give staff names were: Springfield Advocate (Springfield, MA), Creative Loafing (Atlanta, GA), Cleveland Edition (Cleveland, OH), Private Eye (Midvale, UT), and Leisure Weekly (Keene, NH, and Brattleboro, VT).

Distribution of Questionnaires at Mainstream Newspapers

Name	Location	Circulation***	# of Questionnaires Sent	# of Responses
Albany Times-Union	Albany, NY	108,954 /163,944	6	4
Arizona Republic	Phoenix, AZ	363,125 /595,413	15	12
Baltimore Sun	Baltimore, MD	**237,519 /159,522 /368,725 /491,924	3	2
Boston Globe	Boston, MA	516,981 /474,977 /798,298	8	5
Chicago Tribune	Chicago, IL	733,775 /619,513 /1,133,249	17	11
Cleveland Plain Dealer	Cleveland, OH	432,449 /411,425 /561,421	8	4
Dallas Morning News	Dallas, TX	393,511 /473,055 /618,283	15	9
Denver Post	Denver, CO	252,624 /417,779	6	4
Detroit News	Detroit, MI	481,766 /*933,226 /*1,215,149	9	5
Hartford Courant	Hartford, CT	231,167 /320,108	12	7
Houston Chronicle	Houston, TX	449,755 /620,752	15	5
Indianapolis Star	Indianapolis, IN	231,892 /416,752	9	3

(contd.)

Name	Location	Circulation***	# of Questionnaires Sent	# of Responses
Ithaca Journal	Ithaca, NY	19,565	2	2
Los Angeles Times	Los Angeles	1,242,864 /1,122,221 /1,576,425	17	8
Marin Independent Journal	San Rafael, CA	40,214 /43,083	4	2
Miami Herald	Miami, FL	444,581 /553,479	15	8
New York Times	New York, NY	1,209,225 /951,449 /1,762,015	2	1
Oakland Tribune	Oakland, CA	115,296 /115,116	8	3
Peninsula Times-Tribune	Palo Alto, CA	41,332 /43,552	6	2
Philadelphia Enquirer	Philadelphia, PA	515,523 /517,860 /982,663	8	2
Portland Oregonian	Portland, OR	337,672 /329,879 /440,923	6	5
Providence Journal	Providence, RI	203,647 /189,641 /264,690	11	5
Rochester Democrat & Chronicle	Rochester, NY	133,672 /204,566 /259,990	5	3
Rochester Times-Union	Rochester, NY	82,757	3	1
Sacramento Bee	Sacramento, CA	273,844 /338,355	15	12
San Diego Union-Tribune	San Diego, CA	406,860 /461,223	6	6

(contd.)

Name	Location	Circulation***	# of Questionnaires Sent	# of Responses
San Francisco Chronicle	San Francisco	570,364 /515,418 /*704,233	10	2
San Francisco Examiner	San Francisco	137,635 /101,911 /*704,233	12	8
San Jose Mercury News	San Jose, CA	280,918 /258,684 /338,490	4	1
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Seattle, WA	209,438 /180,548 /*515,347	10	4
Seattle Times	Seattle, WA	237,735 /231,930 /*515,347	5	3
Syracuse Herald-Journal	Syracuse, NY	91,802	4	2
Syracuse Post-Standard	Syracuse, NY	88,874	4	2
Telegram and Gazette	Worcester, MA	117,047 /137,147	5	3
Washington Post	Washington, DC	838,902 /793,650 /1,168,567	8	3
TOTAL			288	154

TOTAL RESPONSE RATE FOR MAINSTREAM NEWSPAPERS: 53.1%
(excluding 3 refusals and 4 undeliverables)

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*Publishes joint Sunday edition with another newspaper.

**Publishes a morning and evening edition. First circulation figure is for weekday morning circulation, second figure is for weekday evening circulation.

***Circulation figures are from Gale's Directory of Publishing and Broadcast Media (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993). If three figures are given, the first represents weekday circulation, the second Saturday circulation, and the third Sunday circulation. Two figures represent weekday circulation and weekend circulation (either a Saturday or a Sunday edition). A single figure represents average weekly circulation. All circulation figures have been audited by the Audit Bureau of

Circulation, with the exception of the Houston Chronicle, whose circulation figures are from a "publisher's report".

APPENDIX V

Responses to Open-Ended Questions

Responses to Question 69

(numbers are numbers assigned to individual questionnaires)

Do you consider journalism a profession? Why or why not?

2. Stupid question.

5. Because of its importance to society. Unfortunately there are few professionals in the field. It may be a profession but it's not a good living.

6. Speaking of "the profession" of journalism implies a state of mastery and objectivity. We don't need j-school graduates, the MBA(ness) of this field. We need people who can think critically and write well.

7. Yes, although I also believe it crosses over with many other professions - people who have expertise in a particular subject make just as good journalists as those whose skill is primarily reporting or getting a story.

8. This seems obvious - the level of responsibility, the necessary skills.

9. Requires both teachable and unteachable skills.

10. Journalists must be on equal standing with their sources - lawyers, educators, politicians - or the balance between source and writer is unequal.

11. Its members are essentially employees, beholden to their bosses as well as their peers.

12. Requires equal or greater skill, experience, and determination as any other profession.

14. Because it requires a set of skills different from those needed for other lines of work.

15. I don't think you and I would agree on the meaning of "profession".

16. It needs no training, academically speaking.

17. High level of responsibility.

20. It is as least as important as any other branch of society, requiring its own specialization and skills.

21. Demands commitment, thought.

22. I suppose that depends on the journalists and how the job is approached. Many daily reporters are hacks.

23. In these times, any job is a profession.

25. It's my job to inform readers of what's happening and to help them decide what activities are the best for them.

26. It takes training, skills and dedication.

27. My occupation requires a high level of skill and imagination, and I got to where I am through many years of study and discipline.

28. Certainly it's a profession because it requires specialized skills and talents. However I think many journalists these days get hung up on their perceived status as journalists.

29. It's a profession because it has a set of standards recognized by most who practice it.

30. First Amendment, the importance of diversity.

31. There are no professional standards and requirements. It's a craft.

32. It is an activity which has at least an implied code of ethics, but one that allows for a wide range of individual behaviour. It requires intellectual skills and the evaluation of quality performance is not very amenable to objective standards. In other words, determining what makes a good journalist is a matter of subjective, "professional" judgement.

34. It requires specific skills, sharply delineating it from public relations, etc.

35. In reality it is probably just a trade, but what the hell, let's call it a profession.

36. Cuz it's like being a doctor or whatever, you go to work & shit. And I s'pose being a garbageman is a profession too.

37. You get paid for it.

38. It's a job. People get paid for it.

39. It has standards, requires quality, and it is a discipline. Of course it's a profession.

41. The high level of skill required.

42. Because it's a craft that requires skill, training and practice.

43. Specialized and varied training is required. It is a job that takes individual finesse to master. It's not and cannot be work that is learned and carried out by rote.

45. Because of the technique and dedication it requires, not to mention the time.

46. Journalism requires specialized knowledge and training as well as ethical standards.

47. It fits into clearly designed lines: gathering, analysing, and disseminating the news.

49. Pays the rent.

50. It's a calling for me. For some it's a profession. For some, it's just a job. 90% of journalists are punch-clock journalists, worried only about getting their 20 inches of copy per day, without concern as to their impact on society.

51. It's a vocation because anyone smart enough can do it.

54. Because of the responsibility to society implicit in the work and because of the specialized nature of work.

55. Journalism is a trade, but with ethical standards that must be imposed by each individual tradesperson. To formalize or institutionalize the craft with externally enforced standards would hamper diversity of ideas and approaches.

56. No licensing/certification.

58. More and more degrees offered in the field.

61. If for no other reason, it should be treated as a craft; writing and good reporting are difficult tasks and never should one be content with "doing a good job".

62. Because a large number of people do a similar job under similar rules all over the world and are relied upon by the community at large.

65. It requires specific skills and specific commitments. It's also goal oriented at very high levels.

66. But not on the professional levels of lawyers, doctors, etc. More like cops and firemen, private public servants, I guess. I'd like work better if I didn't feel my only role was to make a few assholes richer.

67. The distinction between a professional and a non-professional is semantical, artificial and completely arbitrary. I would answer yes or no to these questions depending on what restrictions, obligations, rewards, etc. would go along with designation as a "professional".

68. Because I think any job requiring specialized skills qualifies as a profession.

69. Because it's basically instinctive and learned through experience. It's a trade.

70. Takes skills and ethical judgements.

72. Because it requires an above-average level of intelligence and education and has a major responsibility to the public interest.

74. Requires training, education and skills. Requires a degree of standards of behaviour and expertise.

75. It is standards of procedure, a general system of operations, and a general course of preparation for getting hired.

76. There are definite defined skills in journalism that take years to acquire, and journalists provide a needed position in society, as entertainers, informers, and watch dogs.

77. It is a craft. Over-professionalizing is pompous bullshit that takes away from the diversity of reporters. Too many master's degree journos in newsrooms, not enough reporters.

80. There is no real independence from ownership; journalism is not an independent profession.

81. Journalism takes training, specific training, and is a profession. Also requires study and continued reading in specific subject areas to stay current.

82. It has a complex set of skills and its own ethic.

83. Not everyone can be a journalist. It requires special skills, judgement, and a commitment to ethics and the truth.

85. Because of the type of training, skills and dedication required.

87. It's like teaching: giving people something they haven't heard before, questioning authority.

90. It's a trade turning into a profession.

91. We need higher education and training to excel in our field. We also must abide by ethical standards to gain the respect of our peers.

92. It is a job requiring specialized knowledge and skills.

93. Loosely. It's a line of work with a common set of skills and standards and duties.

94. In the broadest sense, becuase it requires liberal arts training.

95. We provide a service that is widely regarded as being essential to democracy.

97. It requires training in a craft; dispensing information constitutes an important function in a democracy.

98. Yes, in that it is intellectually demanding and requires professional conduct. No in that I see a profession as something regarding a specific course of study and certification, unlike journalism.

99. It's not hourly. It's a way of life.

100. It requires training, education and skills.

101. Journalists tend to be a particular breed of people who form the core of this profession. It takes a certain type of personality, skills, abilities, and demeanor like other professions.

102. Membership open to all without standardized courses and exams.

106. I'm not sure what you're getting at with these questions. I think journalism requires a set of rather complex skills - but then so does plumbing, I suppose.

107. The skills and abilities of a competent journalist are not easily acquired and should be recognized as such.

110. There should be minimum standards of responsibility for the truth, but not content.

112. Because of the training required, because of the sacrifice of one's ability to exercise opinions publicly, and to become active in the community outside the job.

113. Because its skills are definable.

115. Because specialized training and experience is necessary to its practice.

116. It's an intellectually demanding career that requires the same commitment to ethical standards as law or accounting. It is also a craft that must be learned.

117. It is a craft, more akin to carpentry or plumbing.

118. Requires adherence to certain conventions, spcialized skill and knowledge, and a commitment to an understood code of ethics.

119. News writing is more than a technical skill; it takes judgement, analysis, the use of perspective, etc.

120. It involves certain skills and certain dedication, attributes I equate with a "profession".

121. This is not questioned.

122. If one has gone to school to prepare themselves for a job related to writing and editing, and if you receive pay for it, it is a profession.

125. It has become highly specialized, requiring college degrees and influencing government and other professions.

126. Part profession, part trade.

128. It is more of a trade in that we simply write stories based on information and not on original ideas.

129. At higher levels, four or five years into the job, journalism becomes a specialized trade, closer to a profession.

130. In the sense that it requires particular skills and has

a loose general ethical code.

131. It requires skills honed over years of practice.

134. Much training, experience, and skill are required to work for a large newspaper such as mine.

135. It is in every sense of the word. The dictionary says profession is an occupation requiring advanced education and training, involving intellectual skills. I think that sums it up well.

136. To be a good journalist takes considerable skill, judgement, experience, and intellectual breadth and depth.

142. Not a meaningful distinction.

144. It is a trade, a craft, requiring skills and principles.

146. It's just a fun way to do something exciting.

150. Personal effect on community and individuals. Amount of skills and training. Ethics to adhere to.

152. It's either that or a light industry, manufacturing and packaging information.

153. Because of skill level required to excell [sic].

154. The demands placed on journalists are diverse and challenging - more so than I perceive in other careers.

155. Journalism requires skills - intellectual skills - and professional training. Journalists form a cadre of people who share a philosophy about the watchdog functions of the press.

156. In some senses, the explanation for all three answers is the same; my belief that journalism is a profession may be no more than a bloated sense of self-importance. Nonetheless I think it qualifies because of the need for education - formal or informal - and the need for a specialized skill - writing.

157. It's not a profession in which the skills to perform may be learned in total. Most abilities to be a journalist must be innate, natural.

161. We provide a professional service to the public - newsgathering/writing. As a group we generally have a method of doing our job which is learned through education and experience.

166. Any time you write a story someone, some business, something is affected. You'd better be professional about what you are doing and how you write it. By and large, people of the print media do this and are professional about it.

167. As opposed to what?

171. I consider it a craft.

172. It's my profession.

173. Yes, because of the knowledge and skill involved and the tremendous power journalists can have. However, unlike other professions, there should be no licensing or minimum standards. "The truth will out."

174. For the same reasons educators are regarded as professionals - held in high regard for trading in the marketplace of ideas.

176. Yes, although in some senses it is a vocation.

177. It's a job and adventure that changes daily.

178. Journalism requires a high level of training and knowledge, so I would say it is a profession.

180. Because of its influence on society and its importance to democracy.

182. We hold an intrinsic public trust whose responsibility is as great as that of such traditional professions as medicine and law.

186. There are applied skills to do our job. Some do better than others, but the skills are necessary.

187. Webster's Dictionary (new international, 2nd ed.): "a calling in which one professes to have acquired some special knowledge used by way either of instructing, guiding or advising others or of serving them in some art."

188. It requires professionalism.

191. It requires specific skills, and it's a job with a high level of responsibility.

192. It takes education, training, and is a vital community function.

194. Because journalism requires considerable training and continual use of intellectual ability.

195. Hours are not important - and product is all that matters; art is involved rather than rate.

197. Because it is demanding and exclusive.

198. It's work that requires skill, training, judgement, decision making, and has a huge impact on the public.

199. It demands professional behaviour and experience. It requires educational and ethical standards, and it can deeply influence the course of society.

200. Unlike law or medicine, formal schooling in journalism isn't necessary or required. However, its standards should be no less severe. They don't stand up to these ideals, but they should.

201. Requires skills (objective) and character (subjective).

202. Skill, training required; importance to society; traditional standards of responsibility.

203. It takes specialized skills and "higher knowledge", whether from college or on the job experience, that are comparable to other professions.

204. It is a trade or craft. Skills are not so specialized and the training is not so rigorous as to deem it a profession.

205. It's a craft. Does not require (necessarily) formal higher education. Does not have - or need - professional standards.

206. It's too broad to be considered a profession. It's more like a craft.

207. It is an important public function that requires significant independent judgement and decision-making and carries a public responsibility.

208. Despite the necessary lack of explicit qualifications or regulations, journalism has implicit, pervasive professional standards - somewhat like common law.

211. It is a profession that not anyone can do. Writing and

reporting is a craft.

212. It takes a specific [sic] to know what are the important aspects of a story, and getting it across to the reader in an organized form.

214. Not in technical sense, in that I did not enter this line of work after completing advanced, specialized studies. And not in the sense of entry qualifications or standards (as in the bar exam for law). But in the sense that a profession is a calling and not an 8 to 5 timecard job, I do view this as a profession.

217. I consider journalism more of a trade in which people with some aptitude hone skills over the years and hopefully learn from others and their own experience.

220. It is a craft that can be learned - however, teaching someone to be honest and curious cannot!

222. It's certainly not a hobby/avocation; requires a significant degree of skill in dealing with people at all societal levels.

223. Requires skilled people who are responsible, experienced.

224. Who cares?

225. I consider any career one can build over a lifetime a profession, particularly one as exacting as journalism.

227. It is highly skilled work that requires serious training and commitment.

229. I think it requires skills comparable to those needed in other professions, but it should also maintain its stake in trade unionism to prevent management exploitation.

232. I'm afraid I don't have a high opinion of journalists as a class - I'm not sure this job is as difficult as "professional journalists" pretend. I am somewhat dismayed by journalism schools - I prefer writers trained in other, more rigorous academic disciplines.

233. Journalism demands as much training and skills as any profession.

234. It requires special skills and knowledge developed over a lifetime.

235. People who report are paid to provide a public service, which is crucial to the function of community, society, and the political process.

236. It requires training and knowledge of legal, political, and social issues.

239. Dumb question.

241. Unique skills.

242. Anyone can do it - who can write and ask questions. Not a special skill.

244. No specification of knowledge to master or professional requirements.

247. It requires a certain level of education and skill to be done properly.

249. Watchdog of society and government. Keeps people informed.

250. It takes knowledge and training above and beyond a non-professional occupation.

251. Because of the education, skill, dedication it takes to be competent.

252. Because the function we perform for the community is completely unique.

253. It requires special education or training, special abilities, special dedication, and special talents.

254. The responsibility, the demands, the impacts of its actions.

256. It is highly specialized and requires high personal ethics.

258. It's a continuum - there are very mediocre journalists where few skills or training are involved, and there is writing about real news and issues which tends toward qualifying as a profession.

259. Because it is an intellectual craft.

260. Requires exercise and development of a combination of

skills whose proficiency requires both aptitude and certain types of intelligence.

261. In the sense that it requires certain skills and a body of knowledge if a journalist is to do his or her job well.

262. I cook up stories, I clean copy, I mend fences just like a chef, a janitor, and a farmer. They have professions and so do I.

263. When it's done correctly, yes - unfortunately that is not often the case.

266. Although journalists would like to think of themselves as professionals, journalists are not. Becoming licensed and working under the auspices of a professional organization, such as the bar association or AMA, are unthinkable if we want a free, unfettered press.

267. It's a specialized field that requires particular talent and training.

271. The field requires a great deal of expertise, education, and/or experience and holds an esteemed place in our country.

272. According to the dictionary definition of the word, it is.

273. Responsibility is big. There is no timeclock.

274. It requires sophisticated skills and diligent application that cannot be applied without intellectual discipline.

276. Semantics question - irrelevant to doing the job.

277. It's a respectable, important job requiring many skills. Obviously it can be entered into at many levels.

278. Because it takes years of training to get to a top 10 newspaper.

280. It requires education, experience, independence, and most of all creativity.

288. Because of the discipline involved in serving the public and meeting deadlines.

289. It is not standardized, monitored and regulated like mainstream professions, i.e. physicians, lawyers.

291. Because it is a specialized field that provides an invaluable tool to its readers/listeners.

292. It requires specific skills and training, and only after mastery of them does one have the tools to do the job.

295. The skills and intelligence necessary in journalism are beyond vocational.

297. It is a learned intellectual skill not everyone can do.

299. It's a white collar job requiring specialized skills. To me that is a loose definition of a profession (if defined by need for certifying organization, I'd say no).

300. I don't work as a volunteer. And not everyone is trained to do it.

303. I get paid.

305. Requires education, training and skill.

306. It is all the things a profession is - a career, a business. It takes skills, knowledge and experience.

307. To do it well takes a tremendous amount of skill, education, and dedication. If it didn't, I wouldn't do it. I'd be a lawyer or a diplomat or something.

308. It is more than a profession. It is a calling.

309. Of course it is; people spend their careers doing it.

311. We've been told that it is not, by the [Newspaper] Guild. Only doctors, lawyers, and ministers qualify, I believe.

313. Journalists can have enormous influence in a community. That influence alone requires a responsibility shared by other professionals.

314. Because like law or medicine or art, etc., there is a skill and art to journalism that is perfected by years of practice - it's not something an uneducated or amateur writer would excell [sic] at. Also, it involves a code of ethics, like other professions.

Responses to Question 70

(numbers are numbers of individual questionnaires)

Do you consider yourself a member of a profession? Why or why not?

7. It's a loosely organized profession, compared to some such as medicine or law, but still a profession.

8. I've worked as an editor/reporter all my adult life, with increasing responsibility.

10. I have an additional degree in geography and feel an alliance with that group of scholars.

11. My standards of performance and integrity are my own, and in many ways differ markedly (I think) from what the so-called "journalism profession" considers proper.

20. I feel my work contributes to the good of the community at large, and adds to consciousness raising and enlightment.

21. Others do.

22. Undecided. Probably not. The disparity between what journalism is and what it should be is shocking. I am a reporter and I love my job because my paper is extraordinary. Otherwise, I truly hate the press. It truly fails to serve its role as educator and as a lever for social change. I would never work in broadcast, nor on 95% of the "dailies". "Journalism" is a stagnant, philosophically failing institution.

23. Many of us share similar characteristics - as in alcoholism, self-importance, gratuitous verbosity, etc.

25. Journalism is not a profession in the sense that it's governed by another body. I don't feel any organization can pass down what is proper journalism.

26. Because I've taken the time to "learn the ropes".

28. Because it's how I make my living - and the only way I want to make a living. As for a community of journalists, well...

29. Because I am paid to do journalism.

30. Pay not high enough.

34. I am one of a group of people with similar skills and goals.

36. I work.

37. I get paid for it.

38. I have a job. I get paid for it.

41. I don't identify with my fellow practitioners very strongly.

43. I have taken it upon myself to better the field in which I am working. This dedication and hope to make improvements elevates it beyond a job.

45. Because I fulfill the aforementioned obligations.

47. I do the job described above.

49. Pays the rent.

50. Is history a profession? If it ain't recorded, it ain't history. Is story telling a profession? I'm the Brothers Grimm. Is police work a profession? Ask Nixon whether Woodward is a member of a profession.

51. Again, a vocation.

55. Journalism is not an exact science. Attempts to formalize the requirements and education necessary for the job would further ossify the type of thinking that is already a danger to journalism - consensual "wisdom".

58. Reluctantly. People talk about "journalism as a profession" with its own code of honour. Increasingly I feel less respect for journalists and distance myself from the field.

61. I studied a craft - writing - and reporting, two wholly separate issues - both in college and on the job. This isn't a lark, ya know.

63. Reporting is my livelihood and career and I am bound by rules similar to other, certifiable professions.

68. My background - I'm not so much a journalist as a writer, really.

69. Because I don't want to consider myself a peer to all the little journalists who are bragging about their master's degree and puffing a pipe. Journalism is about living.

75. I've come up and operate within that system.

76. I'm a career journalist, proud of my skills and committed to reporting stories accurately and in an interesting fashion.

77. Yes, but it's a craft and it's my craft.

80. Journalists are not regulated by law.

81. Because I dedicate a lot of time and energy to make sure I stay abreast of current political trends - reading, interviewing, etc., and then care to see accuracy in stories, balance in presentation, ethical considerations.

82. Because I have developed a deep understanding through experience through the years.

83. Because I have those qualities, and there is no other "calling" for me.

92. I'm not making widgets, am I?

94. It is as much a profession as an engineer, librarian, teacher, economist, etc.

97. My training, knowledge, and sense of ethics.

99. It's not highly paid, but it's a responsible and, I think, highly important job.

100. Because of care used to perform job.

101. Because most of my friends are reporters, many of the people I know are reporters - it's like a little community of acquaintances.

102. Skills and forms too varied for single definition. Advanced academic training offers a hindrance, not a help.

112. After 18 years it would be schizophrenic not to.

113. I have defined skills which I apply regularly.

115. Because entry into the field and success there is so restricted.

116. Because I strive to uphold its standards and have the specialized knowledge inherent to my profession.

117. I'm a journalist, journalism is not a profession, ergo...

122. I write and edit an alternative news publication.

126. Professional aspects of the job, e.g. judgement in ferreting out and interpreting facts, outweigh trade aspects, e.g. writing an understandable and grammatically correct story.

129. I can see a career path.

130. I don't feel we are seen as professionals. The general feeling is that anyone can write.

134. We perform a valuable function in society.

136. I am very aware of the tradition behind what I do, and the connections between what I and others in the field.

145. Because I participate, and because I do this for a living. It is an identifiable group.

153. Because I consider journalism a profession, and because I'm a journalist. Seems like a stupid question after (69).

157. Because I have the right ability.

161. I try to perform my job in a way that dignifies all journalists - with an eye toward fairness and ethics. We are trained to be able to obtain information that the average person may not be given access to.

166. Tabloids aside (which should never be considered part of the print media) this is a profession.

167. I'm hesitant to use that word - on the other hand, I can't realistically deny it...

174. I am a skilled professional in reporting and delivering fair comment on people and events making news and affecting public life.

176. To become an experienced journalist requires years of experience - training by fire.

177. Because I'm a professional.

182. As a journalist I am responsible for serving the trust I have accessed. As a group we have enormous power over public opinion and over people's reputations. It is a responsibility and power not to be taken lightly. Cutting corners can mean shortchanging the public and/or ruining a person's reputation.

183. Reporters are neither treated nor paid like professonals.

186. I'm a journalist.

187. I believe that there is a distinction between career journalists and writers. Journalists learn special skills so as to produce work of a consistent quality under pressure. There is a professional bond among them which is not shared by freelancers.

191. I work for a newspaper with high standards, and try to meet them myself.

194. Because I think most journalists today are professionals.

195. I do the job well and give it whatever it takes.

199. Because I'm a journalist.

200. It's a lifetime study, the same as other professions.

201. Hold respect of colleagues and maintain self-respect.

204. We have no self-policing professional body.

207. We're an identifiable group of white collar workers with similar education, values and work ethics. Our job is important and requires significant training and work experience.

208. Given the above [answer] and my occupation, I accept that membership.

211. You have to have a college education to become a journalist these days. Unlike a job, journalists are doing more than a piece of work for pay. We provide a valuable service for the public.

212. There are many bright talented journalists, and it isn't

a job anyone can perform.

214. To be consistent with the above reasoning. However I do belong to the Society of Professional Journalists out of a belief in collegiality and solidarity.

217. We are not - and should not be - licensed. Therefore, this is not, technically speaking, a profession.

220. I just want to write - it's a job!

222. Because if I consider journalism a profession, and I am a journalist, q.e.d. I am a member of a profession.

225. I think all journalists are linked by common concerns about craft, ethics and standards.

229. I don't care too much about the distinction. Journalists must work to establish and maintain their own codes of conduct. Whether these constitute "professionalism" is less important tnat what the standards for skills and ethics are. But I think Questions 70 and 71 are perceptively framed; I think many journalists believe they can operate as autonomous, "professional" agents, no matter how violently they may object to their paper's performance as a whole. It's a delusion - perhaps necessary - of the trade.

232. I consider myself a writer often engaged in journalism. I am a professional writer certainly, but hesitate to elevate the reporting trade - reporters are such sanctimonious bastards anyway.

234. I've worked in it for 14 years. I always will.

235. Because I provide a service, for which I am paid, that is necessary to my community, our society, and local government. Ther service I provide requires training, education, and ethical standards that I try to always work within. However, I do feel a lack of consideration for professional standards and ethics, which I feel some other local and national reporters do not appear to have.

236. I am a practicing journalist and journalism is a profession. Ergo, I am a member of a profession.

244. Irrelevant - I am what I am, a newspaper reporter. Labeling is pretentious.

247. I consider myself a journalist and a professional rather than just a worker.

249. Writing, reporting, interviewing and editing are learned skills.

250. I don't consider myself a true journalist. I'm a feature writer.

252. Because it's what I do for a living. Because that's how my impact can be felt in the community. Because I am always involved in college-student journalism interns.

253. It requires specialized education and experience for a rigidly defined social and occupational function.

254. Because I take my work as seriously as any professional.

258. No job security, and nepotism within our paper.

261. Informal as it may be, I network with other journalists in order to get input on my work, any ethical issues I'm facing, and to stay current with new thought.

266. I'm not licensed and I'm not compelled to join a bar association or pass a test to practice my craft.

267. Just like a doctor or a lawyer, I serve an important role in society.

272. I have the training and am putting this training to practice.

273. Because I'm a journalist.

288. Because we respect each other as professionals.

304. I get paid.

306. Journalists share a camaraderie, because they are part of a profession. They do similar things, encounter similar problems and successes, and have similar experiences.

309. I consider myself a writer more than a reporter, but I have made a living as a journalist for many years.

311. I try to be competent at what I do - which is to collect knowledge which people need and cannot easily get, organize it in a terse and interesting manner and get it in print.

314. I consider myself a member of a profession because I have competed on the state and national level with other

working journalists and received awards. I have also been recognized for my work by organizatons such as the Louisiana State Medical Society. Being awarded and recognized by other fellow journalists and organizations makes me feel like part of a greater society of professionals.

Responses to Question 71

(numbers are numbers of individual questionnaires)

Do you consider yourself a professional? Why or why not?

6. In sports, "pro" means you get paid. I get paid.

7. I'm paid for my skills.

10. Because I strive hard to follow my own guidelines for professional behaviour - I never purposely burn a source. Fairness, honesty and accuracy are extremely important to me.

11. To be a "professional" implies a limiting adherence to a set of rules and standards that seems to me antithetical to what should basically be an outlaw job.

15. I have a high standard of performance, and I base my job on that standard.

16. I never think about it, nor do I care.

20. My work is what I am to be judged on - whether good or poor, I stand on my work, as should any professional.

21. I adhere to professional standards.

22. Not until my salary doubles. Until then, you decide.

23. I work too hard not to.

25. I take my job professionally, so, yes, I am a professional.

26. I have high standards of ethics, professionalism, and extensive experience.

28. Because I do the best I can, and expect the same of others.

29. I dislike the term, because it connotes a certain buttoned down executive attitude.

30. I consider myself a craftsman.

31. For census descriptions, other purposes.

34. Because I hold myself to certain standards and work hard to achieve them.

35. I conduct myself in what I consider to be a professional way.

36. It's nothing that matters to me. I do my job and I do it well. Isn't that enough?

37. I work at a profession.

38. I have a job. I get paid for it.

41. My management role.

42. Because I'm a member of a profession...I guess I'm missing the point here. Basically I'm not concerned about "professionalism" as an issue.

43. I attempt to uphold standards - occasionally individually established standards - that helps to gain respect for journalism. I do not consider the field as just a catalyst for getting ahead.

45. Because I've done this for so many years, so intensively and in so many different aspects, and have a wide field of expertise.

46. I have been trained in practical and theoretical aspects of journalism and have subscribed to ethical standards.

47. I do it [job] full time for money.

48. From showing respect to interviewees to doing a thoughtful job - these are attributes of a professional. I feel I bring that to every story I write.

49. I pay the rent.

50. I don't understand the need for labels. I guess I consider myself to be a craftsman. Professional reeks of elitism.

51. Stupid label.

53. I work for dough.

54. Because I am guided by professional standards as defined by a professional community.

55. Strictly speaking, I am paid for my work. However, "professional" in the sense of the medical or legal

professions, no.

56. I've mastered certain skills needed to do particular jobs - even though no license was required.

58. Advanced degree.

61. Because I honor and am aware of the responsibilities that go along with being a journalist. Perhaps I am an idealist, but there is great potential as a writer to screw up, but there is even greater potential to do good - and it far outweighs the former.

63. I perform my job with integrity and responsibility to individuals and the community.

66. I don't understand these questions. I'm a professional in the sense that hockey players in the NHL are professionals. They get paid, I get paid. The cranks who write letters to the editor don't get paid. The guys who play hockey on ponds in freezing weather don't get paid, either. See?

69. I don't know what a professional is. I consider myself a professional writer - someone who makes her living by writing.

70. Dedication to job, level of competence.

72. I take the responsibility of providing quality information to the public very seriously.

74. I know how to do what I do, and I do it well.

76. I always strive for accuracy and try to ensure all our stories are topical and worthwhile. My dealings with sources and interviewees are always very professional and ethical.

77. Professional in the sense of doing a good job and caring about that job.

80. Only in the sense that I'm paid for what I do.

81. I consider myself both a professional and someone who has found a vocation. Writing, describing, finding information, and details - getting to the bottom of something and explaining nuances to readers is a difficult, challenging, rewarding task.

83. I have professional standards of excellence, ethics, and competence.

87. I'm doing something serious and meaningful, and not getting the money that I could at "professional" papers. We do a better job here with more professionalism than most of the pros. We are the pros.

92. Because I help create a quality newspaper - a job that requires considerable skill and talent.

93. I take seriously the responsibilities of my profession.

97. I put these professional qualities to use.

99. I try to be professional in my approach to people and responsible in what I write.

100. Because of training, years of experience, and diligent work.

101. Because I work hard at what I do and I do it well with an objective attitude.

102. In my conduct I adhere to a rigid code of personal ethics, similar to those in formalized professions.

107. Because I treat my job seriously, one that is beholden to a standard of quality, conduct, and integrity.

112. Because I behave in all ways as a professional.

113. I operate in a professional way.

115. Because I have specialized knowledge and skills that aren't very replaceable.

119. After getting my start through internships I have worked at general interest newspapers for several years.

121. I uphold professional standards.

122. Because I am accomplished at my chosen field. By "accomplished" I mean working and putting out a successful product.

125. I am paid a base salary no matter how much I work. I typically put in many hours extra just to complete my job and enhance my production.

128. I simply disseminate information gathered from other sources. It is another type of assembly line.

130. I'm trained, skilled, and adhere to generally accepted ethical standards in doing this job.

131. Because I set very high standards for myself, which I uphold.

136. I'm a good journalist, I take pride in what I do, and I work damn hard for very little money.

139. It is not a 9 to 5 profession, but I approach it professionally.

144. I take pride in my skills, work to improve them; abide by an unwritten ethical code.

150. Amount of pay.

152. I get paid (vs. amateur).

153. Because of my experience, accomplishments and because I pride myself on my integrity.

157. Because others seem to agree it is so.

158. Well, I try at least.

161. I am one of about 6 people in a metropolitan area of about 3 million - 4 million who knows everything there is to know about the government institution I cover. It is my obligation to give the public information which affects them and their tax dollars.

167. I guess I am. It's just one of those words, like "career", that sounds frightening. It also conjures up images of stuffy, stiff, white old boys in gray suits in an ugly office - just an image, yes, but a hard one to shake when so many papers - dailies especially - exude that kind of stuffy righteous exclusionary air in their writing, and in the stories they choose to cover, and it's a word like that that so many so-called professionals are in denial over - all reporting is opinion-based - some just try and hide it more than others.

172. I do good work.

174. I have earned a reputation as a good reporter - in a profession.

176. Just as I couldn't do a lawyer's, accountant's, or

doctor's work, it takes training to be a journalist.

186. I possess the aforementioned skills.

187. I have a desk, a tight schedule, daily obligations. Even in my arts criticism, I treat my assignments as I would any news beat - research, authoritative writing, responsibility. Much of my work, by choice, is compiling new data (calendar listings) into an attractive format. This takes secretarial skills, dedication and patience.

188. I care about what I do and I work hard to make sure I do the job the way it should be done.

194. Because I am asked to bring years of experience and intellectual ability to my work each day.

195. Because I do a thorough job and care about the news.

199. I strive very hard for fairness, balance, and accuracy. I grieve when these elements are missing in news reporting, and believe my challenge is to make sure journalism upholds rigorous ethical standards.

197. Traditionally journalism hasn't been viewed as a profession.

200. I try as best I can to approach the unscientific task of journalism as a profession, with a view toward ethics, toward doing the most professional job possible, toward the truth.

201. I have become one - I should say, am trying to become one.

204. I am not a member of a profession - incidentally, a much-abused word.

207. For reasons given above. But it does not matter to me whether others consider journalism a profession or not. We are not, and should not be considered, a group of elites.

208. I profess and seek to uphold the vocation described above.

211. What I do requires a skill and where I want to climb in this profession demands being professional to get through this huge hierarchy.

212. I earned a college degree to do this, and I worked my way from the bottom up.

214. Yes, because I try to comport myself in a generally respectable manner, I believe fervently in what I do, and I am devoted to my work.

217. I am a professional with a lower case "p", because I act in a professional manner. That means adhering to a self-imposed ethical and moral code.

220. Because I play by the rules of decency and fairness to all.

222. My goal in all writing is to produce dispassionate, objective information to the reader - not to seek self-promotion or notoriety (a fault of many journalists).

224. I'm a pro.

225. I have never violated any confidence or any of the spoken or implied rules governing the profession. I am fair, honest and thorough.

232. Oops, I guess I've answered that. I and certain of my colleagues - many of my colleagues - have our areas of expertise, but I think the general level of competence is dismal and resist the self-aggrandizing impulse to claim membership in the "journalism profession". I'm unconvinced that special knowledge or talent is necessary to produce news copy.

233. I am a journalist who holds myself to high standards.

235. I am paid to do a necessary service that requires specific work habits, an education, and processes to 'get the story' in an ethical manner.

247. I'd like to think given my reputation I am a professional with some community standing.

250. I haven't received a dergee and am merely flying by the seat of my pants. Doing it well, mind you!

252. Because it's what I do for a living.

253. I have the special education, training, experience and dedication. My career is a fundamental element of my public identity and self-image. I hope I have the talent.

258. I have not been writing long enough, and I write on general subjects.

261. Again, however informal, I have standards that I'm constantly working to meet and exceed, incuding taking classes, networking with colleagues, and professional introspection.

262. Good question. I wear a tie, therefore I am. Seriously, I am an amateur in the best sense. I write because I love to use language, not because it pays my rent. That it does is icing on the proverbial cake. Thanks for asking.

266. I consider myself a very good working journalist, responsible to my employer and the readers of my newspaper, not a licensing authority.

267. I have learned the craft and take pride in exercising it.

276. Ethical and conscientous "professional" in the manner of a good plumber or a good teacher.

277. The pay, if nothing else, would so indicate. In most cases a good education is required and a high degree of knowledge is required.

279. Because I take my job seriously and realize the media has a lot of power and influence - in return, I have to do my best to be ethical, accurate and fair.

288. Because I work harder than most professionals in law or medicine.

289. Even though I maintain 'professional' values, I am a skilled employee.

291. Because of the high standards of quality set forth by me and my paper.

295. My attitude and degree of intellectual rigor brought to the job.

304. I get paid.

305. High standards.

306. I work hard, I follow my company's code of ethics as well as my own. I have pride in my work, which requires considerable experience, skill and talent - if you do it well.

312. Because I use a great deal of my own judgement, resourcesfulness and creativity. And I deal with lots of recognized "professionals".

314. Because I have been employed as a journalist full time for the past eight years, and my belief is that it takes on average about 10 years of practice to become an expert at something. So eight years is close to expert, close enough to be considered professional.

Responses to General Open-Ended Question

(numbers are numbers assigned to individual questionnaires)

Please feel free to add comments or information on any of the questions in this questionnaire or related matters.

2. This questionnaire confirms my decision to leave academia.

9. Editors think - and write - in cliches. Editors and publishers tend to fear innovation, in terms of design, column, or story ideas. Office politics disrupts the search for the truth. Editors need to take instruction in efficient management and interoffice relations, re: Fry et al., Coaching Writing.

11. Re the "profession" questions - it's not that I oppose the ideas of quality and ethics and so forth that are implied in that concept. But as wage workers, it's simply naive for reporters to pretend that they're professionals. We can adopt the trappings - professional organizations, codes of ethics, and the like - but ultimately it's the individual journalist, not the "profession", that has to stand up for journalistic independence, and pay the price if necessary. If I ever OWN a paper, maybe I'll call myself a professional.

15. If journalism becomes controlled by professional organizations and university course requirements, we'll get lots more sameness and lots less liberty.

17. I don't like the idea of journalists being certified or approved by some professional journalists' association - it reeks of some sort of homogeneized clique, which would lead to journalists being judged for competence on the basis of whether or not they are members. Many people enter the field because it affords them free expression of individual ideals. I believe as a whole the best journalists are the ones who are answerable only to their own high standards, not that of their peers, the government, their bosses, etc. - they have a responsibility to the public at large and never to any one group.

26. I would like to have seen more questions about the politics of news coverage. Multi-national corporate control of news outlets is a serious problem facing both journalists and the public. Most news is filtered, or fluffed up, and strong independent voices are rare. They're also actively discouraged.

28. I taught journalism for 8 years at the university level,

and strongly feel that j-students today spend all their time learning about journalists and journalism without learning much about the world around them. My students were more likely to read a biography of Tom Brokaw than a novel, or a natural history, or (god forbid) a science book.
"Medium" means "between", specifically being a conduit between people who know something and those who need to know it. Nowadays journalism become a thing in itself. On TV and in the dailies this translates into a lot of stories about journalists. For example, one day during Desert Storm I counted 8 stories in the Chicago Tribune about how the media were covering the war. Tribune news boxes bore signs saying "Trib Reporters in Gulf". Come on! The story was the war, not the reporters.

33. I feel this questionnaire is slanted toward the notion that all journalists work for big companies. I work for a weekly newspaper that, though it has few employees, is well read and well respected in our community. As a member of a small editorial staff, I have a high amount of autonomy, name recognition in the community, and a chance to learn and grow as I see fit. I also have somewhat flexible hours. But, I am also paid less than half of what the local daily reporters are paid, and I feel I do a better job most of the time. I also have no opportunity for advancement here, and the one editor here finds it a challenge to give out compliments without some criticism attached, and there is not transferring out because this is it.

35. With regard to #61, I think courses in economics, political science, health care would be good for journalists to attend. I disagree with the notion that they should be required. I am leery of trying to set up a professional organization to police the industry. It is a very subjective practice, journalism that is, and I believe that freedom is necessary.

36. I know you don't have much choice, but using a scale to get responses to specific questions doesn't even begin to reveal the complexity of my attitudes. For instance, yes, I like my job a lot and believe in it to a degree, but I also have a lot of problems with my job, even though it's a far more liberal work environment than most. Whatever.

41. Journalism is a great calling. My company, however, is run by incompetent and immoral publishers - I hope to leave this paper ASAP.

42. Perhaps you should know that my responses are skewed, as I work for an AAN (Assn. of Alternative Newspapers)

publication. As a weekly paper in the mold of the Village Voice, my employer serves a different function than the mainstream press. My high degree of job satisfaction has mostly to do with the opportunities afforded by such a paper, as well as its purpose.

46. Journalists are entirely too willing to subjugate professional standards to corporate profit considerations. They must find a way to hold news media companies accountable.

49. Peace!

54. As editor in a two-person editorial office of a journal of opinion (biweekly) I don't think I am representative of the general population targeted by your survey.

57. The pay is, of course, horrible in this profession. If I were independently wealthy, I'd do it for free, anyway.

58. I'm considering a move out of journalism. I think it's a good place to begin a writing career, but not a good place to end up. It destroys creativity in favor of mediocrity. I see it all around me.

60. On the issue of a professional association accrediting, disciplining, or otherwise taking a formal role in the practice of journalism: I think that any body that keeps journalists on their toes is a good thing. That's why I support community councils that provide an independent forum for media conduct. However, an attempt to create standards or some form or another is, I believe, a very serious mistake. There is no one standard (even broadly defined) that can be applied to determine what is "good" or "bad" journalism. Nor is their [sic] one kind of background, training, education that could be used to assess ability or competence. In fact, I am often quite annoyed that people don't consider my background as an asset. I was a physics major in college. I'll match my analytical skills against any journalism major. We are not doctors or accountants. We are more like artists, dealing with that very ambiguous thing known as reality.

61. You have to understand that I work for a so-called "alternative" weekly, where we enjoy freer editorial standards (i.e. opinion counts). It ain't so easy for the daily grunts (i.e. submissive award-winners).

64. This questionnaire seems so obviously aimed at mainstream, corporate journalists that I'm not sure how my answers fit in.

While we out-circulate two daily papers in our coverage area, we maintain a small (three-person) editorial staff and each of our contributions are essential to the overall quality of the paper. We've managed to beat our mainstream competition (not only in distribution, but also in number of national and state awards, and in sales growth) by pursuing our work with a passion for communicating with our readers, and with a compassion for the people we write about. Is this a career that can be measured in dollars and cents and promotion through bureaucratic ranks? No. It's more like a vocation to be gauged by what is accomplished. (At least, with the hours I put in and the money I make, I sure hope so.)

I believe the corporate career mentality is, in large part, what has stultified the mainstream media. Journalists are practicing a trade, like a carpenter or a plumber, worried about career enhancement and progress. When I no longer feel compelled to communicate with people, I'm outta here; once the passion is gone, the writing goes stale and I won't be living up to my professional standards as a writer. Too many "journalists" practice the trade of reporting - apart from the community rather than as part of the community - and their stories, filled with facts and figures, make cold, stale reading. I read too many stories and clips from job applicants in which they have screened not only their own humanity from the story, but they have stripped the humanity from their subjects. No wonder the future for the print media looks bleak.

Don't get me wrong. I'm not calling for more fluff stories and meaningless profiles - there are enough of those taking up space. There is a need for more personal news stories, stories that have heart and style, and don't mask point-of-view with a false objectivity. For all the criticism we can now make of them, the yellow journalism from the turn of the century and the sensationalism of the 20s and 30s show both the writers and their subjects as living, breathing human beings - just like the readers of the paper.

You ask if journalists should be required to go to college, and if there should be a professional organization to monitor quality in journalism. You've got to be kidding. We already have too many college-taught journalists who have learned voiceless, bland writing and they are killing the industry. Who could seriously propose a policing organization presumably composed of people steeped in a moribund, reportorial tradition?

66. I wish that my journalism professors would've spent less

time teaching me how to write obits and more time telling me why newspapers exist...and why they're dying. I also wish someone had told me that the vast majority of people who advance to supervisor positions in newsrooms do so only because they're butt-licking weasels. I hope you're prepared to read similar statements from other scared, pissed-off, bitter people who once gave a shit. And I work for a wealthy alternative weekly, where things aren't so bad. This business destroys people.

69. The nature of the questions and the preoccupation with status and professionalism they illuminate is what's wrong with journalism. We are storytellers and we should be concerned about finding and telling stories well. We've gotten terribly off-track.

77. Too many newspapers have become breeding grounds for reporters who don't know their craft and editors who think they should be treated like doctors. Nonsense is the rage. Credentialism is a disease.

79. The disparity in my responses is based on the dichotomies in the organization itself. It's a small organization that reflects the idiosyncracies of its owner. He has always valued and supported in-depth reporting and good writing. He has also generally been very concerned about the community and allowed, even encouraged, his reporters to cover important issues as they see fit. There is a lot of independence for reporters, and the paper is considered a valuable asset to the community. Thus, I am proud to say I work for it. That said, the owner is not a good manager, does not relate well to his employees, and runs the paper as his personal cash cow. I have not had a raise in five years while his children attend private school and he drives a new car every few years. His progressive social views are not applied to his own business. If I could do the same kind of writing and have the same journalistic freedom elsewhere, I would leave. But I love the work.

81. As a journalist, it is depressing to be considered less worthwhile to the paper in terms of pay than an advertising representative who earns a bigger salary. The long hours of overtime without pay are not made up by seeing one's name in print. While there is satisfaction in completing a story, one's life becomes secondary to the draining career. Burnout hits. And you wonder why you continue sometimes, especially when friends the same age - but holding other jobs - are making so much more money and are starting families.

On a less personal plane, sharing information with readers makes you feel that you are performing a valuable service to help keep communities and people connected, instead of discrete, isolated entities, especially in an increasingly divided world.

It is also very disturbing to see so much of the paper's editorial content going towards placating advertisers. In a shrinking market, in recessionary times, we lose advertisers or lose them to TV because people don't read much anymore. As a result, the advertisers who remain try to determine the news content by applying pressure for stories about their products. And papers try to retain advertisers by acceeding to their wishes.

Sometimes advertisers - like car dealers - don't like to see stories about "how to avoid buying a lemon" at the used car lot. This hasn't happened to my knowledge at our paper, but has occurred at others.

There should be a greater division between advertising and editorial, otherwise newspapers will just become ad circulars.

88. As an editor at an alternative weekly, I feel my situation is atypical. For the most part, I think journalism is a crappy profession ruled by mediocre minds. I happen to have found an exception to the rule.

92. My views on some of the questions are probably colored by the fact that I'm married to one of the newspaper's four owners. Of course my monetary interest in the paper makes me more loyal.

One question about this profession that intrigues me is why does it tend to draw liberals as reporters? (We are all Democrats on this news staff, which is a national trend.)

I also think most journalists are extremely ethical. In small town reporting, the worst - and most common - breach is not accepting trinkets but protecting or promoting friends. The nature of the relationship between ad sales and editorial is also important, ethically.

93. I really like Seattle. I really like journalism. I really like my beat. I cannot stand the way my newspaper treats its employees. It is a very top-down, secretive, controlling organization that leaves reporters and most other employees completely out of the loop. Supervisors are generally negative and condescending in their treatment of employees. Employees feel demeaned, unappreciated, powerless.

Ideologically, the publisher represents the downtown business community and on key issues or decisions that affect the news treatment.

If there is a major story that editors get excited about, they take over control of the story, leaving the reporter on the sidelines. The reporter, who usually is the most knowledgeable about the subject, is left to follow the daily (sometimes idiotic) directions of the editors.

95. Regarding some of the questions about requirements - I do not think this is the right way to go at all. While some of the ideas - refresher courses, college degrees, etc. - are certainly good, they must not be applied to all journalists. One may need it, and benefit from it, and another may not.

98. I found the questionnaire a bit strange in that it seemed in some cases to ask the same question twice or more in only slightly different ways. Re journalism as a profession: the conventional wisdom now is that work in general increasingly demands flexibility, creativity, and critical thinking. In that sense I think that journalism is the epitome of what is expected from workers. Although a journalist should be highly developed in those respects, and able to write well, I don't believe a journalist should have to go through a specific course of study or set of tests to join the profession. I - with absolutely no formal journalism training and very little writing training - have reached a position at a very respected newspaper after few years in the business. Ability is what counts here, not artificial professional standards.

99. Being a journalist is stimulating, exciting, unpredictable, creative and rewarding. It is also incredibly underpaid. Editorial is (or at least seems to be) the last thing considered important by owners and publishers. I resent the fact that our receptionist gets as much money as I do, particularly as the hours I work are long. Even so, I couldn't imagine any other job that would be more rewarding.

101. If my responses seem contradictory at times, it's because I work for the Oakland Tribune, which was just sold to an unrespected, suburban newspaper chain. My four months here were wonderful - great editors, great reporters, everyone respected each other and cared deeply about the product, even though it was stuggling financially in an economically depressed city. While I loved working for the people at the Tribune, there was little love for the publishers (Bob Maynard and wife) who were better journalists than business people. A series of bad business decisions and

harsh employee measures sent the paper into a financial tailspin, until the Maynards had to sell out last month. I love the old Oakland Tribune and the people who worked for it - I will miss it and am sorry to see it go. It renewed my hope in journalism and gave me a taste of what good journalism is and how fun it can be.

102. If America's 1st Amendment freedoms were not so strictly enforced by the courts, I believe there might be a need to organize journalists as a profession to protect integrity of news-gathering process. As it is, journalists in this country enjoy wide latitude in the way they conduct their business, and I would have to see that diversity straightjacketed by formal requirements for training, exams and a code of conduct.

104. By far the most critical problem in the business I see is the lack of diversity in top management. The fossils make everyone else retire but themselves. We need young people, women, blacks, immigrants, intellectuals, blue collars involved at the top or near top if we're ever going to broaden our appeal and survive.

But the old white guys don't have a clue - just keep clinging to the old formulas. Which fail today. Therefore we all sink together.

106. As a critic, I consider myself to be a very specific "type" of journalist - one who leans more toward "art" and creative writing than, say, a business reporter. Some have argued that criticism is an art, and I am inclined to agree with them. I have put up with long hours, grueling work and lousy pay for a number of years, and the reason I've done it is that criticism - more than anything else I might have done - is a calling for me. I would not have put up with all that for any other job within journalism. Good luck with your survey.

108. I was glad to complete your survey, but I am extremely busy. Thus I was put off by questions that required work, such as descriptions of duties. Moreover, dynamics of this organization are so complex that some questions couldn't easily be answered. Example: this paper is 5 years old. Its founding editor and owner just left. Paper is going through radical, yet subtle changes. Becoming more corporate, bottom line oriented. Many employees are distraught. So while my commitment to the newspaper is extremely high, my commitment to stay here no matter what is not so solid. Finally, you're [sic] last three questions were stupid. We work, we practice a very specific trade which requires specific skills; we're

professionals.

112. I am very disturbed by what I see happening in the newspaper business. Bottom line concerns, the need to attract young readers, the need to endear newspapers to their communities are all encroaching on the fundamental purpose of a free press in a democracy: that is, the aggressive coverage of news. Decisions regarding news play, aggressiveness, story selection are all tainted by these non-journalistic needs. It's unacceptable. It's the reason that after 18 years and what feels like a life-long commitment to remain a journalist, I am leaving the business - and leaving at the height of my career, before my disillusionment becomes cynicism - the deadliest of all journalistic sins.

116. I take the job seriously, recognizing its impact on society. I strive to always operate ethically. I find it an intellectually and creatively stimulating career. It is also quite stressful. My two main complaints are the relatively low pay and the worry that people aren't reading newspapers as much as they once did. That may imperil many jobs, possibly my own.

120. This is an unusual time for my opinions, because my newspaper has gone through a recent uneasy merger. I hope, in a few months, my opinion will be better of the post-merger operation. The pre-merger newspaper was a wonderful place to work.

121. I am not sure what benefit, if any, this survey will yield, but I am interested in the results.

122. I feel somewhat constrained by my "publisher". I feel that he tries to influence editorial by his pending business matters, which, of course, is totally self-serving and inappropriate. If there are any problems here, he is at the root of them. I wish that he would just move to Las Vegas rather than just visit every month like he already does.

P.S. He's lazy too. But my editor is wonderful - perfect example of what an alternative news editor/journalist should be.

130. My attitudes about my job stem from disgust with the paper's editorial policy and disenchantment with the management. Also, I want to do something more directly worthwhile for society and supportive of my personal political beliefs, but newspaper writing is all I know how to do.

131. In the first section, I think you would get very different answers to your questions if they didn't all contain the word "organization". Here in Vermont, anyway, journalists tend to be a hard-working but rather mercenary lot. I work as hard as I do not for the "organization" but for myself, and my future, and, in fairness, the subject at hand.

134. Thanks for the opportunity to participate!

137. I am interpreting "the organization" in this to mean the newspaper for which I work, as distinct from the company for which I work. The two are different in the minds of many journalists. My loyalty is to the newspaper, not the company. There can be good newspapers published by terrible companies and vice versa. You really need two sets of questions, one concerning the media product and another concerning internal operations of the company. Only question #24 can be understood to deal unequivocably with internal operations.

138. Although I believe journalists should have strict ethical standards, I would fight any kind of policing agency. The First Amendment protects good and bad journalists. When the government starts deciding who can be a journalist and what journalists can write, we will no longer live in a free society. That also goes for a private organization setting requirements for journalists.

142. "Professional organizations" such as the AMA or ABA are most successful at keeping access to a profession limited and thus raising its [sic] members' incomes. They are least successful at raising work standards and self-policing - in fact, they often impede efforts to weed out dishonest members.

Journalism is one of the few white-collar jobs in which success is still dependent on merit. A professional certifying organization would change that.

155. My answers to the above questions reflect a person who is driven by a love for writing, truth and respect. I take my motivation from a desire to do a good job - not from any desire to help my current employer. The readers, ultimately, are my judge.

161. The biggest challenge facing large city newspapers today is the diversification of news staffs.

Newsrooms today must have reporters, editors and managers of all ethnicities in order to understand the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic communities that are booming around them.

The nurturing of minorities who are aspiring journalists is critical, as well as the retention of the minorities in the newsroom.

I'm fairly happy with my job, I just can not be the only Hispanic reporter to cover a city that's 25% Hispanic in a newspaper with a 500,000 daily circulation. There has to be more emphasis on diversifying the newsroom.

167. This seems more geared to news reporters/editors, and those with at least some journalism training. Another case of arts writing being thought of as secondary stuff?

170. The problem with a professional organization is who runs it, who enforces its rules? In the end, no doubt, it would involve the government, and that is too dangerous. The possibility of bad effects outweighs the possibility of good ones.

173. Personally, I think even asking questions about licensing journalists is a dangerous thing to do. As I said before, who would be in charge of licensing - the current government? The journalism profession best serves the public when it is free and beholding to no one. It needs to be allowed to print the truth, no matter who is in power or who is hurt. Licensing - and ultimately suppression of the press - would be the end of freedom and the beginning of totalitarianism. The citizens need to know what is going on in their country and the world. Just look at the former USSR and China.

174. The best newspapers are those that give voice to good reporting and writing. Editing by formula or format makes for very frustrating places in which to work. Just as in good playwriting - maybe as true to the human condition as is possible - dialogue and the framing of ideas and tension is best achieved when reporters are permitted to tell stories as they see them. Lively writing, grounded in good journalistic sense, is about all the industry has left - television having claimed so much turf.

176. Job decisions are not solely based on the organization, but also on location and friends.

182. We need to better understand how we were and are manipulated by those seeking to get their message out. It's a high stakes game and all too often we are the pawns. Education is important - but mostly it takes a healthy dose

of skepticism and cynicism.

185. A couple of the questions that are so awkwardly worded [sic] I would have to question your findings. I think people may read (and answer) these questions in different ways.

187. Too many questions seem egocentric - #s 34,43,52,54 etc. etc. A byline above a story I can truly call mine is all the gratification I need. It is not the sort of environment where power struggles serve my purpose.

I became a journalist because it meant I could write regularly, be published, and actually finish things. Deadlines are the great equalizer; newspapers can always be judged by their production schedules.

I never would have gone to school to learn what I'm doing. Journalism should be a self-taught profession, with schooling available only for the insecure and impatient. Strong writing skills are crucial, but they develop more through practice than through training.

I found #10 to be an understatement. I just had a nervous breakdown brought on by self-inflicted (over)work pressures. While recuperating, I am concentrating on the belief that what I do is indeed a job (profession!) and not an open-ended, self-destructive "calling".

Some basics of good journalism are always overlooked - the importance of original research, the proper voice, the integrity gained by having a thoroughly authoritative product, i.e. strong listings sections, knowledge of the community, etc.

199. My fear for journalism as practiced at a number of newspapers is that advocacy and pandering to politically correct causes is destroying our credibility, and our responsibility to the society we report on. The world view of some major papers and their editors is not necessarily reflective of the world view of many readers. That's all right as long as it doesn't become the only framework from which news is presented. But, in fact, that is occurring and readers are turning away in large numbers - they do not recognize their own values in what they are reading. And these editors, out of touch with readership, are becoming more entrenched and righteous about their approach.

202. I'm wary of any effort to license journalists, for the simple reason that to license is, to some extent, to control or otherwise coerce. Historically, this has been a remarkably

open profession, one in which anyone with a sharp eye and way with words could succeed, regardless of formal education. At the same time, it's very much a profession - a calling, even - with a strong set of ethical principles and traditional approaches.

204. Journalists as a group suffer from hubris. We should do more to admit our fallibility.

205. Like any questionnaire, some questions and answers don't allow for nuance - such as the question of First Amendment necessities versus ethical and other performance standards, profession versus craft, etc.

211. Thank you for including me in your survey. Your questions made me think long and hard about a field I entered with great expectations...On some days I'm amazed we get a paper out at all. There are too many MBAs in the newsroom these days that don't have a clue about what writing and reporting is all about. Many have poor news judgement and wouldn't know what a story was if it bit them in the ass. The public ends up losing.

212. If my answers are sometimes contradictory, it's because I enjoy working for the Plain Dealer and I like my boss and co-workers, but I am burned out on writing fashion. I'm ready to go back to general assignment features, but doing so would mean making other sacrifices.

I'm also interested in pursuing another profession, such as social work, but that would mean going back to school at night - a major undertaking.

Journalism is a good profession and this is a good paper, but I'd like to do more to help less-fortunate people.

213. I work for a Gannett newspaper - I get satisfaction from the work I do, but do not like this company. Our views on newspapering are very different.

215. I have mixed thoughts about these profession questions. I consider journalism a profession in that it pays me to do something that anyone can do at a simple level - write - only because I've managed to raise that simple skill to a simple standard. On the other hand, I tend to think of a profession as a line of work able to sustain a person throughout an entire career. But I don't see journalism that way; instead, I see a lot of people who've exhausted themselves. The idea of carrying on like this for 40 years is almost unthinkable.

217. I hope my answers reflect tht I am extremely unhappy with my current employer, not with the newspaper business in general. I love the business tremendously, while acknowledging its warts.

Unfortunately the recession, particularly here in California, has brought out the worst in some newspaper management - like the one I work for.

That has taken a physical and emotional toll on me and eroded my longstanding affection for the business.

Being ever the cock-eyed optimist, I'm sure I can find a better situation at another place. But this time, I doubt I'll be going to a major metropolitan daily - I think they all have similar problems.

222. Re Question 68: Certification would accomplish nothing except the creation of a monolithic organization that likely would impose its own subjective views on fledgling journalists. What criteria would be used to designate those entitled to a certification? In my opinion, any attempt to require certification would result in a stifling of writing creativity.

227. My varied answers in the first section reflect the fact that I have a job that I enjoy but for which I am paid very poorly.

236. After 10 years of journalism, I believe the profession is in dire straits. This is primarily due to the fact that most journalists approach their jobs as an insurance salesman or a widget-maker would - they see no higher purpose.

I suspect there is considerable disillusionment and low morale among journalists in general - I suspect this is caused by the fact that they work for profit-making businesses that are run by MBAs and not by journalists. The interests of business frequently run counter to the interests of journalists and business (i.e. management) usually wins. This results in cynicism and jaded reporters.

At my paper, we practice "advocacy journalism" and we care about the people who are getting shafted in society. We are an unusual newspaper. I am content. Most of my friends who work at daily newspapers are not.

239. All tendencies toward "training", "institutes", "professional associations", etc., should be curbed. From my experience they only promote groupthink and knee-jerk pack

journalism. Individualism - in thought, style, morals, politics, etc. - is the last saving grace of journalism. Journalism schools at the university level are a waste of effort and should be abolished. They only promote academicism, not journalism. Get out in the real world and get a real job.

242. Journalists who think they have special skills and knowledge are kidding themselves! Good journalists should assume they know nothing, question everything, in every story.

243. Morale in American newsrooms is low in these times because of the shrinking industry. Staffers aren't being replaced when they leave, aren't getting raises, merit or cost of living, and increasingly the message from the top is that the news function and its reporters are secondary in importance to the marketing and advertising end of the biz. Journalism is a business now - a shock to most naive journalists who get into the biz for the joy of reporting, writing and quest for truth. These lofty ideals clash with management's objective: to turn a profit. Most newsrooms look and feel more like insurance offices now than newsrooms.

Secondly, this study does not address the subject of ethnic diversity in the newsroom, access to higher-paying management jobs to ethnic minorities, and racial sensitivities - a major subject of discussion at all major U.S. dailies. Many papers are under pressure from minority staffers and the community to hire more ethnic minorities and cover minority communities better. This constant friction in newsrooms adds another element to general malaise and low morale among minority journalists. There's a "glass ceiling" which is very real for both women and minorities. In "American" English, I'm referring to black and Hispanic journalists.

244. Inconsistent answers probably a function of my recent conclusion that this newspaper is dying. I am looking elsewhere after a happy period here. We are lopping off a finger here, a toe there. On this date (Dec. 15) I have 349 bylines for 1992. This reflects abusive demands by a metropolitan daily.

251. Advances in technology will change print journalism more in the next 20 years than ever before. It's not a promising career for newcomers.

252. The place where I work is an alternative weekly in a fairly small town, with a staff of only a dozen people. So I was a little thrown at first by all the questions about "the

organization". For some questions, the "organization" seemed to refer to the guy who pays my salary, the Publisher; in others, it seemed to refer to my co-editor and myself. I've answered only as well as I've understood the questions. Thank you for your interest.

253. Middle management is becoming or has become a separate journalism career, distinct from and sometimes counter to efficient newsgathering.

257. The jury is still out on whether journalism is a profession, a craft or a scam perpetrated by the Industrial Revolution. I consider myself a writer, and identify with the tradition of the poets who wandered before newspapers existed, bringing the news from one residential settlement to the next, bartering their performances for meals and a place to sleep.

258. I work for an alternative weekly; one that is moving from covering primarily issues to covering more "lifestyle" and culture/arts.

266. I feel I should explain question 65. It is the duty of the newspaper to its stockholders to do more than break even. I strongly agree with this. Only a profitable newspaper can be a really good newspaper with strong editorial content.

Should this be at the expense of cutting back the news function? Not if you want to be a profitable newspaper. I believe that only papers that succeed in informing can be profitable. And if you're cutting back on the news, you're not informing.

Let's use CBS News as an example. Does the news division have to make a profit? If I were in charge, I would say yes. I wouldn't want to depend on sitcoms for my budget. Maybe this means you can't have a bureau in every Central American country or give correspondents carte blanche. But you better cover Central America well, or viewers will go to the network that does. (I know this is said easier than done.)

272. If you had sent this three years earlier, I might have responded in a more positive manner to the questions regarding my company. In the past three years, my company has named a new general manager and managing editor. I do not believe the decisions made by these men in the past three years have been in the best interests of the company. Coincidentally, my job requires some travel and I hear the same complaints from other journalists about their publications.

273. Publishers should be ashamed at the low wages they pay reporters. It is difficult work requiring talented people. Reporters can easily get the newspaper into a million-dollar libel suit. Publishers of small papers should really feel bad because they pay reporters poverty-level wages.

274. Keep in mind that the interests of professional journalists - even ethical, diligent ones - and the interests of society at large (e.g. to have an entirely free press) do not necessarily coincide. I believe that the greater interest must be served, though I regret the amateurism it brings to my beloved profession.

277. It's true that as a journalist you almost operate independently of your publication. Papers have been compared to hotels that you check into during your career. But you also owe loyalty to your employer, who after all pays you and is your access to the world.

Professional journalism organizations seem to be comprised of younger reporters and are social in nature. There is no way I would answer to them.

294. Journalism is in deep trouble. The people's ability to know is likewise. What then shall we do?

299. My answers on working conditions and the organization I work for are strongly influenced by the fact that it is the one large daily paper in the area and I am from the area and, for personal reasons, am not inclined to move to get a job at another paper. Q65: I believe papers' stockholders have a right to expect to make money but also have a responsibility to acknowledge that a paper is a civic institution, and not just a business. Q66: don't see a need for an organization to 'police' journalists. The bosses at the news organization itself can do that.

301. Re Questions 66-68: Groups such as the Society for Professional Journalists are a good idea. They can foster new ideas, techniques, inspire debates on ethical and legal issues - in other words, promote a productive exchange of ideas for people in the business. But when you start talking about certification and sanctions, you immediately put a lid on that free exchange. You can't police the First Amendment.

303. Please excuse my handwriting. I have wrist braces to relieve discomfort caused by working at computer stations with improper construction. This issue is my only major problem with this news organization. They have been slow in

addressing ergonomic problems.

While specialization is good in concept, it can lead to burnout. I have written about skiwear 6 times in recent years. A co-worker, the garden reporter, has written 200-plus stories on roses in the last 5 years. A journalist's career evolves. A good reporter should be able to cover any story if needed.

307. I went into this field because I expected to have the same impact as other professions - law, government, academia - but primarily through writing. I love what I do, but I hate the organizations that support it. For me, there is a fundamental mismatch between why I am in this field - public service - and the often bottom-line oriented businesses who pay me to do it. I feel a great deal of loyalty to my readers and the public debate. I feel no loyalty to the self-promoting businessmen who pay my salary.

Reporters like me tend to be independent workers, a trait that not only inhibits our loyalty but makes us difficult to manage. It also diminishes our loyalty to professional organizations, including unions like the Newspaper Guild. In my opinion, journalists think and act more like lawyers than any other profession, but the economic and professional structure that supports us is essentially a blue-collar, union model - or at best a pink-collar, service model. This is part of the reason, in my view, for the high level of dissatisfaction among reporters. Also, it is frustrating to work the same long, stressful hours as other professions and need similar levels of education (to do it well) and be paid comparably so much less. I make less than half of what most of my peers in high-prestige careers make. Obviously material wealth was not a consideration for me when I entered this field. But as my finances get shakier (I cannot afford to buy a home or take a long vacation. I usually pack my lunch.) I'm beginning to wonder if, for the sake of my future family, I will have to leave journalism eventually. All I want is a certain amount of financial security, but I doubt I will ever achieve that.

309. In general, I don't think this kind of questionnaire will tell you very much. The interesting question is why people feel the way they do, which this does not explore. Nor will you have any sense of sophisticated feelings in these issues, to which many of us have complicated views.

311. Newspaper are now following the lead of TV - shortening articles, skipping background, going for the quick, colorful and surface. That is disheartening, in an increasingly

complex world.

And the new technology turns all final control over to editors. Individual styles are erased, as are nuances of meaning important to the writer.

I worry that democracy will suffer.

But such situations seem to be self-correcting over time.